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175 observation, an account of his travels would have been particularly valuable. He was probably the first European who had ever visited *Skardo*, or Little Tibet. He took that route to avoid the invading army of Dogras, and succeeded in reaching Kashmir in November 1835. All his observations were lost, along with his baggage, on the road between Ladák and Kashmir.* In 1847, I made repeated inquiries for English books, or English writing, with the hope of recovering some of Henderson's notes, but all in vain.

Ladák was visited by Mr. Vigne shortly after *Moré-Tátsi* had been placed on the throne by Zoráwar Sing. From Balti he proceeded through Lé to the Nubra valley, and returned by the same route. His short stay in Ladák was unfortunate; for, owing to the mutual jealousy of himself and the Dogra authorities, he was deprived of all means of obtaining information. His notice of Ladák is therefore the least interesting part of his rambles in the Alpine Panjáb. His accounts of Kashmir and Balti are full of valuable information, which is half lost for want of arrangement.

Early in 1846, when the result of the first Sikh war had made Raja Guláb Sing the undisputed master of Ladák and its dependencies, and he had no longer to guard himself against the power of the Sikh chiefs, it seemed not improbable that the hope of plunder and the desire of revenge might tempt him to repeat the expe-
175 dition of 1841 into the Lhasan territory. Such an
439 occurrence would at once have stopped the importation of shawl wool into our territory, and have closed the

* Baron Hugel's Travels, pp. 129, 151. Henderson's servant reported that his baggage was lost in the snow in the *Naubak* Pass. I presume that the *Namyika* Pass is intended.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

whole of the petty commerce of our hill states with Tibet. It was possible also that our peaceful relations with the Chinese emperor might be considerably embarrassed by his Celestial Majesty's ignorance of any distinction between the rulers of India and the rulers of Kashmir. As it seemed desirable to prevent the chance of such an occurrence, the British Government determined to remove the most common cause of all disputes in the East,—an unsettled boundary. For this purpose two officers were deputed, in August 1846, to the Tibetan frontier of Ladák, to ascertain the ancient boundaries between the two countries, and to lay down the boundary between the British territories and those of Mahárája Guláb Sing. The settlement of this boundary was one of some importance to the hill states, and more especially to our new acquisition of Nurpur, which received all its shawl wool from the traders of the eastern hill states, and not from Kashmir. Immediately after the war, I had pointed out that, by giving up to Mahárája Guláb Sing the southern dependencies of Ladák, we had actually interposed a rival territory between our own provinces on the Sutluj and the shawl-wool districts of Cháng-Tháng. The southern boundary of Spiti was, in fact, not more than thirty miles from Rámpur, on the Sutluj. As the annual revenue of the Spiti district, derived from all sources, does not amount to more than seven hundred rupees, no difficulty was experienced in making an exchange of territory with Mahárája Guláb Sing, and Spiti was added to the British dominions.

It then became necessary to define the northern boundary of Spiti, with the other districts of Ladák. The two commissioners deputed for this purpose were

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TWO ROUTES FROM PHADAM IN ZANSKAR TO LÉ.

Winter Route.	Direct Route.
1 Muni.	1 Tondé.
2 Yang Jhul.	2 Jand-lá.
3 Maleng.	3 Sumdo.
4 Kina Jhula.	4 Dagmoche.
5 Zongmar.	5 Karna Sumdo.
6 Chumik Marpo.	6 Rabrang.
7 Tokpo Soma.	7 Marka.
8 Charáp.	8 Kyo (Skyo or Skio).
9 Dong chéchan.	9 Shingo (Pass).
10 Pachálong.	10 Rumbak.
11 Kyang-cho.	11 Pitak.
12 Rukchin.	12 Lé.
13 Debraug.	
14 Gya.	
15 Miru.	
16 Ugshi.	
17 Hemis.	
18 Thagna Goupa.	
19 Chachot.	
20 Lé.	

IV.—3rd. THE SOUTHERN ROAD.

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By this route the shawl wool is brought to the large cities of Nurpur, Amritsar, and Ludiana, all of which make a return in manufactured shawls and coarse brocades. The roads from all these places meet at Mandi (the market) or Maudinagur (market-city) on the Byas river, the capital of the small state of that name. From Nurpur the merchants proceed viâ Kangra and Baijnath; from Amritsar, viâ Hushiyarpoor and Nadon; and from Ludiana, viâ Ropar and Bilaspur; the distances of the first and last being about 120 miles; of the second, about 150 miles.

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From Mandi this road proceeds by the iron-mines of Kumán to Sultânpur, the capital of Kullu. From

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		Miles.
1	Sabu	6
2	Foot of Pass... ...	12
3	Digar	5½
4	Chatti	16
5	Tirit	8½
6	Tagar	8½
7	Panámik	13
8	Chirasa	10
9	Lyakjung	9
10	Hundar	9½
11	Tertse	10
12	Unmáru	5½
13	Karu	9½
14	Waris	8
15	Bogdan	7
16	Chulungka	9
	Carried forward ...	147

		Miles.
	Brought forward ...	147
17	Turtuk	7
18	Pránu	11
19	Siksa...	7
20	Kábás	8
21	Surma	12
22	Khapolor	7
23	Karku	10
24	Bragar	4
25	Kunes	6½
26	Kuru	6
27	Keris	8
28	Golochu	9
29	Camp	9½
30	Skardo	4
	Total ...	236

The above are the principal thoroughfares throughout Ladák. Many other roads might be enumerated in all directions, but they are less frequented and more difficult. These by-paths are called *Lam-than*,* and *Lam-dogpo*. They are used chiefly by the people of the country in passing from their own districts into the next; such are,—1st, the road over the Omba Lá, between Suru and Drás; and 2nd, the road over the Vingé Lá, between Zanskar and Purik. Other roads are used only by smugglers; but these are always difficult, although frequently more direct than the high-roads. One of the best known of these smugglers' paths is that which leads from the Chinese district of Chumurti into Láhul and Kullu. From Chumurti the road is followed over the Budhpu Pass to the bed of the Párá river. From thence a rugged path leads over a lofty mountain to the

* *Lam-phran*, pronounced *Lam-than*, "little road;" and *Lam-Dogpo*, "narrow road."

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136 No specimen of this magnificent goat has, I believe, yet been obtained by any naturalist, nor have I heard of any traveller who has seen the animal. I would suggest that it might be called *Capra megaceros*.

236 [136] Another species of wild goat is the Tibetan ibex, or *Skyin*.* Mr. Vigne procured a pair of horns that were four feet three inches in length. In his opinion the Skyin "is larger than the European ibex, and the horns are longer, more curved, and more tapering." The Skyin frequents the most inaccessible rocks, and the animal, when shot, is frequently much mutilated by its headlong plunge down some precipitous cliff. Vigne states that between one and two hundred of them are killed in Balti during the winter, when they are forced to descend into the valleys.† In Ladák they are also snared at night, and shot in the grey dawn of the morning, when they venture down to the streams to drink. They are killed for the sake of the soft under-fleece, which, in Kashmir, is called *Asali Tus*.‡ This is an exceedingly fine and soft wool of a light brown colour, which is exported to Kashmir, where it is used as a lining for shawls, woollen stockings, and gloves. It is also woven into a very fine cloth, called *Tusi*, of a soft and delicate texture, which is much prized for its warmth. The high price of the Tus is caused by the difficulty of procuring the animal, and by the uselessness of the hair. The person who separates the hair from the wool of the domestic shawl-

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* *Skyin*; the female is called *Dan-mo*. In Kullu and Spiti, the Skyin is called Kyin; and Spiti is called Piti, but the spelling in Tibetan always preserves the initial *s*.

† Vigne's Travels, II. p. 279.

‡ اصلي توس means simply "genuine *Tus*," or the wool of the *wild* goat; *Tus* means "n ıture."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the height averaging from twenty-seven to thirty inches. It might, therefore, with advantage be crossed with the common small sheep of our hill provinces. Nearly the whole of the traffic of Ladák is transported on these sheep. They are food, clothing, and carriage, and form the principal wealth of the people of Ladák. I have seen a single flock of six hundred sheep, entirely laden with wool; and in one day I have counted as many as from five to six thousand sheep laden with shawl wool and common wool, borax and sulphur, and quantities of dried apricots, all making their way to the hill provinces on the south-west. The *Huniya* * is, therefore, much prized; and a man's wealth is generally estimated by the number of his sheep. The average price is two rupees and a half (or five shillings), but fine strong rams are worth from three to four rupees.

The whole trade of Ladák does not exceed 30,000 small maunds of sixteen seers each, equivalent to the same number of sheep-loads. But the large importation of grain, which took place yearly before the population had been thinned by disease, emigration, and war, must have employed some 400,000 sheep. Of these, probably about one-half belonged to the Ladákis, and the other half to the hill people of Káshtwár, Chamba, Láhul, Kullu, and Kanáwar. After making a due allowance for lambs, I should estimate the former number of sheep at upwards of 300,000, or rather more than twelve sheep per house. At present the number is not so great, probably not more than 250,000. At the rate of 2 seers (4 lb.)† per sheep, the annual produce of wool

* *Huniya* is the Indian term, of which the Tibetans have made *Hunhi-yi*. The sheep is called *Huniyi-luk*.

† The English sheep yield an average of 4 lb. each, and even the little Purik sheep of Ladák yield 3 lb. See Moorcroft, I. p. 310.

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year, and the wool is at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair is manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking, and ropes for home consumption. The wool is exported to Kashmir, and to Núrpúr, Amritsar, Lahor, Ludiana, Ambála, Rampur on the Sutluj, and Nepál. To Rampur and Nepál the wool is exported direct from Ruthog and Ngári, but Lé is the entrepôt between the other shawl-marts and the wool-producing countries. In Lé the wool is roughly cleaned, by which process it loses two-fifths of its weight. The picker receives the hair as the price of his labour.*

Between Lé and Kashmir only one fixed duty, of half a rupee per maund of sixteen seers, is now charged; but in former days, before Gulab Sing's acquisition of Kashmir, the duties, or rather exactions, were numerous and vexatious. The packages were made up in pony-loads of from sixty to seventy seers each, on which the charges were as follows:—

		Rs.	a.	p.	
By the Ladák government ...	...	5	0	0	
Duty levied at Drás ...	...	0	3	0	
" Gagangir ...	...	1	0	0	
" Gonda Sarsuig	...	0	8	0	
" Kandarbal...	...	0	5	6	
" Mahriána ...	...	0	8	0	
Total	...	7	8	6	Kash. Rs.
	or	4	11	0	Comp.'s Rs.
The present duty is only ...	Rs.	2	0	0	

showing a difference of 2 11 0, or of 5s. on every load.

* The fine shawl-wool is called *Le-na*; the common wool, *Bal*; and the hair, *sPu*. The Tibetans are not ignorant of cotton, which they call *shing-bal*, or "tree-wool," for the same reason that the Greeks called it ξυλινον, or "tree-flax." The Tibetan names of *Lena* and *Bal*, are the same as the Latin *lana*, and the English *wool*.

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439 [435] In Kashmir the wool is sold by the trader to the regular wool-merchants at an average price of Kashmiri Rs. 4. 8 a., or of Company's Rs. 2. 10 a. per seer. 236 It is then made over to the cleaners, to be cleared from the dirt and grease which still remain in it. This is effected by steeping it in a mash of rice for several days, disposed in alternate layers of wool and mash. The rice is first soaked for three or four days in water until it begins to smell; the water is then poured off, and the rice is bruised into a mash. After the wool has been soaked for a short time, it is pulled lightly but briskly into pieces, and rubbed between the hands. The mash is squeezed out, and the wool is left perfectly clean. The cleaning costs one and a quarter Kashmiri rupee per seer, or three-quarters of a Company's rupee.

The hair is next separated from the fine wool by the tedious process of picking by hand. Even after the wool [283] is woven into cloth, many people are employed to pick out the dark-coloured hairs by hand; and the wool itself is separated into two kinds, the white and the brown, which are spun into thread. This work is all done by the poorer classes. One seer of uncleaned wool yields

Of White wool	...	20½	Rs. weight, or	¼th.
Brown wool	...	5½	„	1/16th.
Common wool	...	54½	„	11/16ths.

The common wool is manufactured into the soft stuffs called pattu.

443 435 The thread is purchased from the *wool-merchants* by the *thread-merchants*, who pay according to fineness, and afterwards sell it to the *shawl-merchants*, by whom it is made over to the *dyers*. The prices of the undyed threads are—

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	Weight.		
Of very fine white single thread	1¼	Rupee for 1	Rupee.
„ „ double „	1½	„	„
„ light brown (*phiri*)	5½	„	„
Fine white silky (*reshami*)	3¼	„	„
Very fine brown (*khudrang*)	3	„	„
Fine ditto ditto	4½	„	„

The thread-merchants are contented with the usual custom (*dasturi* of India) of half an anna in each rupee, or about six per cent.

I have now traced the gradual additions in price of the shawl-wool from the time that it leaves the hands of the producer, at one rupee per seer, until it is spun into thread and sold to the shawl-merchant at ten times the original price. About one-third of this increased price might be avoided by cleaning the wool more thoroughly in Ladák, and by the direct purchase by the shawl-merchant from the producer.

The intervention of three different traders, the Ladáki, and Kashmiri wool-merchant and the Kashmir thread-merchant, between the producer and the manufacturer, enhances the price by at least six per cent. each, or about twenty per cent. altogether.

The average quantity of shawl-wool exported to Kashmir is the same as in Moorcroft's time, about 800 loads, or 3,200 small maunds of sixteen seers each; and about the same quantity is exported to all other places. The average price in Ladák is about two rupees per seer, or Rs. 2,04,000 (£20,400). Of the 6,400 maunds exported, about 4,000 maunds are imported from Chang-thang, Ruthog, and Ngári; and the remaining 2,400 maunds are the home produce of the highlands of Nubra, Ladák, Zanskar, and Rukchu. As the usual yield of fine wool for shawls and *pattus* is half a seer, the total number of

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241 rupee,* would entail an annual outlay of Rs. 1. 8 a.
[435] (about 3s.), or a total importation of Rs. 2,47,500 worth of grain. This sum, divided over the whole adult male population of about 40,000, shows an annual expenditure of six rupees per man; or, if divided amongst the whole number of 24,000 houses, about ten rupees per house.
● 439 This sum was defrayed entirely by the profits of the carrying trade, of which the Ladákis have an entire monopoly between Yarkand and Kashmir.

241 With the present population of 125,000 people, the land would yield fully enough for home consumption, or 9 chittaks (1 lb. 2 oz.) daily for each person; but scarcely more than three-fourths of the lands are now under cultivation. The present annual produce is, therefore, not more than twenty-two millions of seers, or somewhat less than 800,000 bushels, which will yield only $7\frac{3}{4}$ chittaks ($15\frac{1}{2}$ oz.) of food for each person daily. The deficiency is half an ounce daily for each individual, or about $5\frac{1}{2}$ seers annually, equal to $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas (about 9d.). The whole annual importation is, therefore, only 687,500 seers, in value about Rs. 43,000. This sum divided over the whole adult male population of 30,000 persons, shows an annual expenditure of Rs. 1. 6 a., or if divided over the 18,000 houses, about Rs. 2. 6 a. 2 p. per house.

There is a curious custom in Ladák, which has a counterpart in the *arwan* of India and the *neck* of England. At every harvest the farmer selects a small bundle of the finest ears of barley, which he fastens round

* This was the rate in Lahul in 1846, and at Lé in 1847; but in the grain-growing districts I was informed that wheat was sold at thirty-two seers, and even at thirty-six seers per rupee. The individual expense of each family or house was therefore perhaps not more than half of the sum stated above.

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Ladák; but the sulphur of Chang-thang is so easily obtainable, that the Puga mine is almost neglected. The bed of the small rivulet Rulang-chu, which traverses the glen of Puga, is full of hot springs, varying in temperature from 80° to 148°. The hottest springs are strongly impregnated with sulphuretted hydrogen. The sulphur itself is found on the left bank of the rivulet, where a small hole has gradually been excavated by the shepherds. It occurs in pure transparent crystals attached to the gypsum, or in thin opaque laminæ disseminated through the rock. The quantity exported is very small, but I was informed by the shepherds that as much as 100 small maunds (of 16 seers each) are sometimes mined. In 1847 I saw twelve sheep-loads (or twelve maunds) of sulphur that had been taken from this mine; but I feel satisfied that the average quantity of sulphur annually mined cannot be more than fifty maunds, and is probably much less. No duty is taken at the mine; and the export duty, which is only a quarter of a rupee per maund, can often be evaded.

Borax, in Tibetan *Tshalé*, is thrown up in the form of boracic acid by the hot springs of lowest temperature in the valley of Puga. The banks of the rivulet, for about two miles in length, are quite white with the saline matters that are continually being precipitated. These salts are chloride of soda and borate of soda. They are carefully scraped from the surface, as the under-coating is only the refuse of former years. Those of a faint pinkish hue, inclining occasionally to green, are preferred; but these colours entirely disappear as the salts become dry. This impure mixture is the tincal of commerce, from which the borax (borate of

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IX.—COMMERCE.

I.—HOME TRADE.

438 THE artificial productions of Ladák are confined to
286 the manufacture of blankets and coarse woollens, chiefly for home consumption, and of black mohair tents, made from the hair of the yák or grunting ox, which form the only habitations of the nomadic population. Both blanketing and sacking can be purchased in Lé, the former only in small quantities, the latter in almost any quantity, as there is a constant demand for it for bags for the conveyance of goods. The blanketing is manufactured in pieces one foot wide and eleven to fifteen
[438] yards in length. The price varies from two to three rupees each, according to fineness. The quantity of blanketing and of sacking annually expended in Ladák on the carrying trade amounts to about 120,000 yards, in the manufacture of which 20,000 small maunds (or 640,000 lb.) of wool are consumed. The total value of the manufacture is only Rs. 7,500 or £750.

II.—FOREIGN TRADE.

439 The foreign trade of the country, in home produce, is confined to four natural productions,—wool, borax,

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sulphur, and dried fruits, of which only the first is of any consequence, and even that is not of sufficient importance to deserve more than a slight notice. 439

Wool, in Tibetan *Bal*, is the chief product of Ladák. It is of two kinds: goat-wool, or *Le-na*, which is used for shawls, and sheep-wool, or *Bal*, which is used for blanketing and coarse clothing, and for stuffing pillows and bedding.

The quantity of home-produced shawl-wool annually exported from Ladák averages 2,400 small maunds, or 76,800 lb. The value in Ladák is the same amount in rupees (Rs. 76,800), at the rate of two rupees per seer. The shawl-wool is exported to Kashmir, Nurpur, Amritsar, and Rampur.

The commoner sheep-wool is produced in much greater quantities, and the general amount of export (5,000 maunds) more than doubles that of the finer wool. The value at eight seers per rupee is only 2,000 rupees.

Borax.—The borax and sulphur-mines are found together at an uninhabited spot named Puga, on the Rulang-chu, a small stream which is full of hot springs, and which joins the Indus on its left bank, miles above Lé. Puga stands in N. latitude 33° 12′, and E. longitude 78° 16′, at an elevation of 15,264 feet above the sea. The borax is ejected in the bed of the stream by the numerous hot springs at various temperatures, from 80° upwards. The salt (borate of soda) is found along both banks of the rivulet for about two miles, in conjunction with chloride of soda. It is in a damp state, owing to the vapours emitted by the hot springs. In collecting the borax, the surface of the salt, which is generally of a light pink creamy hue (sometimes in- 135 [316]

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clining to green), is carefully scraped and collected in bags. When dry, it is of a dull white colour. In this state it is collected by the shepherds, who pasture their flocks on the rich summer grass of the plains of Rukchu. The quantity of this borax annually exported is stated at 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb.; the value, at the rate of sixteen seers per rupee, being only Rs. 500.

Sulphur.—The Puga sulphur-mine is situated at a short distance from the stream, at the foot of a gypsum cliff. The mineral occurs chiefly in the form of thin laminæ disseminated throughout the rock; but in all the fissures there are numerous detached crystals, quite transparent and of all sizes, from that of a grain of sand to one-eighth of an inch. In detaching the sulphur, the crystals are mostly reduced to powder and partially mixed with the gypsum rock; and in this state it is carried to the markets of Nurpur, Kangra, and Rampur. The vague statements of the shepherds make the annual supply about 500 maunds, or 3,200 lb., but I should think that it rarely amounted even to one-half of that quantity.

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Dried Fruits.—These consist of apricots and small seedless raisins (commonly called currants). I have no means of making even a guess at the amount of this export, but the quantity must be considerable. I never found a single trader or shepherd without numerous bags of them; and I have procured them in all the bazaars in the hill states from Kashmir to Kangra and Simla. In the Simla bazaar they are sold at from two to two and a half seers per rupee.

The whole value of the foreign trade of Ladák, in home produce, does not exceed Rs. 80,000 or £8,000.

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III.—FOREIGN TRADE IN FOREIGN PRODUCE.

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The chief source of wealth in Ladák is the carrying-trade, or transport of foreign produce from one country to another through its own territories. This trade it owes entirely to its centrical situation between Kashmir and India on the south, and the Chinese provinces of Yarkand, Kotan, and Káshgár on the north. It is the entrepôt between Kashmir, where the shawls are manufactured, and the Chinese provinces of Ruthog and Chang-Thang, where the shawl-wool is produced. It supplies north-western India with tea, shawls, wool, and borax; and the Musalmán provinces of China with opium, saffron, brocades, and shawls. These are the staples of the trade through Ladák, but the number of smaller articles that are interchanged is very great, and as the detail may be interesting, I subjoin a list which I prepared at Lé from the accounts of the Yarkandi and Kashmiri merchants. Many of them are quack medicines of very doubtful properties; but the most curious items are undoubtedly the export of sugar to Yarkand, and its after-import in the shape of sugar-candy. The *Gur*, or coarse sugar, of Kashmir is carried a long journey of two months and a half to Yarkand, where it is refined and crystallized: and the sugar-candy is again carried over the same long journey back to Ladák and Kashmir. The Yarkandi sugar-candy is certainly very white; but it is surpassed in colourless transparency by that of Bikaner.

List of Chinese articles brought to India.

Shawl-wool from Chang-Thang and Ruthog.
Charas or Bang, an intoxicating extract of hemp

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Silver in bars or ingots, called *Kuru* and *Yámbu*.*
Felts of various kinds.
Suklát, a kind of camlet made of camel's hair.
Tea, both green and black.
Sugar-candy.
Russia Leather, called Bulgár.
Sable-skins, called Kúndúz.
Gáma, or black leather.
Kimsan, or golden-coloured leather, about eight inches wide.
Ságri, or green leather.
Láka, a peculiar cloth made of hemp-bark.
Velvets, both coarse and fine.
Mashru, or coarse silk cloths of three kinds—
1. Bádsháhi.
2. Alchinbar, made at Alchi or Ilitsi.
3. Kotani, made at Kotan.

Siling, a soft and fine silky woollen cloth of two kinds—
1. Shirún, and 2. Gorún.

Parcha Samsún, coarse cotton cloths.
Parcha Zukh, ditto ditto.
Silk, both raw and manufactured.
Gold.
Gold thread, called Zirri, both genuine and false.
Silver.
Silver thread.
Turquoises, from Persia, through Bokhára.
Carpets, from Kotan.
Rewand-Chini, or rhubarb.†
Chob-Chini, or China-root.
Gol-i-Dál-Chini.
Zedaary, Nirbisi from Nepál.
Coral, Múnga.
Musk, Mushkanáfa.
Tobacco.
Raisins.
Pistachio Nuts, Pista.
Soap.

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* *Kuru* is the Turki name; the Tibetans call them *Yam-bu*.

† Dr. O'Brien informs me that China-root is much used as an excellent substitute for sarsaparilla. Dr. O'Shaughnessy states that it is largely imported into Calcutta from the eastward.—See the Bengal Dispensatory, p. 645.

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Bádián-khitai, Chinese aniseed, which is bruised and put into tea.
Mamira, a yellow root said to be a cure for bad eyes.
Galer-patthar (neck-stone), good for swollen necks.
Mulhatti, liquorice-root, used for coughs.
Daryâhi.
Ponies.
Salt, from the lakes of Chang-Thang.

List of Indian articles carried to Yarkand.

Láki, goat-skins dyed red, from Nurpur.
Cottons, flowered (chicken).
Ditto, coarse (ghára).
Ditto, thin (gaji).
Chintzes of all kinds.
Silk, *lungi* of Multán.
Shawls, mostly coarse.
Jámiwár, or shawl-cloth figured in breadths.
Brocades, mostly coarse.
Turbans.
Opium.
Indigo.
Heron-plumes, Kalgi, generally made of the feathers of the jungul fowl.
Shoes, from Nurpur.
Pearls of all sizes up to one hundred rupees each.
Otter-skins.
Turmeric.
Cardamums.
Ginger.
Cloves.
Black Pepper.
Honey.
Tamarinds, dry.
Sherbet, lemon.
Coarse Sugar, Gúr.
Narcachor, the root of a reed, used both as a scent and as a medicine. It is the common *Narkat* or *Nalkand* (Curcuma Zerumbet).*

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* In Hindustáni نرکٹ, नर्कट, *Narkat*; in Sanskrit नलकाण्ड or नलकांड, *Nala kánda*, or river-reed. It is plentiful in the Sindh at

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• 439 *Túrbad*, Convolvulus Turpethum, or Turbith, a purgative root.
Hábilistan.
Khurma or *Chhuhára*, dates.
Salt.

CHINESE IMPORTS FOR INDIA.

Shawl-wool.—The principal article of Ladáki trade between the Chinese provinces and India is shawl-wool, of which about 3,200 maunds are annually sold to the Kashmiris, and an equal quantity to the traders of Nurpur, Rampur, Amritsar, and Ludiana. Of this, some 2,400 maunds are the produce of the country, and the remainder, amounting to 4,000 maunds, or 128,000 lb., is obtained from Chang-Thang and Ruthog. As the average value of shawl-wool in Ladák is 2 rupees per seer, or 1 rupee per lb., the total value of the annual import of shawl-wool is Rs. 1,28,000, or £12,800. The whole is again exported.

Sheep's wool is imported only in small quantities, as the country itself supplies more wool than it consumes. About 1,000 maunds are said to be brought annually from Ruthog, of which the value in Ladák, at the rate of 8 seers per rupee, is only Rs. 500. It is all exported again.

Charas, or Bang, is brought from Yarkand. About 500 maunds are imported annually, at the average price of three rupees per seer. The whole value of this article is therefore Rs. 24,000, or £2,400. About 300 maunds of charas are consumed in Ladák, and the remaining 200 maunds are exported to the neighbouring countries.

Tobacco is imported largely from Yarkand, the annual supply being stated at 4,000 maunds, or 128,000 lb., of

Narwar or Nalwar; and it is possible that the name may have been derived from this celebrated fort.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

which the whole is consumed in the country. This amount allows one pound for each individual, which is somewhat more than the quantity annually consumed in England:* which in 1842 was twenty-two millions of pounds, amongst twenty-eight millions of population, or three-quarters of a pound each. This difference arises no doubt from the difference of habits, as the use of tobacco is only partial in England, while in Ladák it is universal. The average price of tobacco at Lé is one rupee per seer, and the value of the whole import is Rs. 64,000, or £6,400. Small quantities of tobacco are also imported from Bisahar and Kashmir, but I could not ascertain the amount.

Borax is imported from Chang-Thang, to the amount of 2,500 maunds, or 80,000 lb., annually. Its price in Chang-Thang is one rupee for four maunds, or sixty-four seers. In Ladák it averages about thirty-two seers per rupee; and in the lower hill bazaars it is sold at sixteen seers per rupee, in its original impure state. The total value of the import is Rs. 1,500, or £150.

Sulphur is also imported from Chang-Thang; but the quantity is small, not exceeding 400 maunds, or 12,800 lb. Its price is usually one anna per seer, and the whole value of the import only Rs. 400, or £40.

Opium is the chief article of trade between India and China, through Ladák, as it is between India and China generally. The annual supply was stated at 500 maunds, or 16,000 lb., which, at the average rate of fifteen rupees per seer, amounts to Rs. 1,20,000, or £12,000 worth. The stated quantity is most probably less than the truth, as the total amount of opium that was destroyed at Yarkand in 1840, after the imperial edict of 1839, is

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

• 439 said to have been worth one lac of *kurus*, equal to Rs. 166,00,000, or £1,660,000! This vastly exaggerated amount, which was repeated by several people, was most probably the round sum total of all the confiscated opium throughout the Chinese empire,* although my simple informants fully believed that this enormous quantity had been destroyed at Yarkand alone. The imperial edict is now as little respected on the western frontiers as it is on the eastern sea-coasts; from which politicians may learn how vain and useless is the attempt to thwart the wishes of a whole people. The drug produced in our hill states is of a superior quality, and as it is much prized by the Chinese, the land trade in opium is yearly on the increase.

Shawls of inferior descriptions are taken to Yarkand in considerable numbers. The finest shawls, such as we see in India and in England, are only manufactured to order; but the commoner shawls of coarser material and large patterns are preferred in the Yarkand market, on account of their cheapness. Their prices range from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 per pair: the average being about Rs. 100. The number of shawls annually exported amounts probably to 500 pairs: but this number is only an average of the widely different statements of the merchants—some of whom said 200 pairs, and others

* The value of the Opium destroyed may be thus stated—

Indian Opium, 20,000 chests, at Rs. 625 each =	£1,250,000
Turkish Opium, 1,000 chests, at Rs. 800 each =	80,000
	£1,330,000

This sum is equal to more than 80,000 *kurus*, and might, with the additional value of the Ladáki opium, be commonly stated in round numbers at one lac (100,000) of *kurus*.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

1,000. The value of 500 pairs of shawls is about Rs. 50,000, or £5,000.

Brocades are another article regarding which I found great difficulty in obtaining any definite information. The commoner kinds, ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 300 each, are preferred for the Yarkand market. Perhaps about 400 may be exported annually, which at an average price of Rs. 100 each, are worth Rs. 20,000, or £2,000.

Láki, or skins of red leather.—These are goat-skins tanned and coloured at Nurpur. There is a great demand for them all over the hills, but more particularly in Ladák and Yarkand, where bright-coloured leathers are generally employed in the manufacture of boots, and of bridles and trappings of horses. About 200 maunds, or sheep-loads (6,400 lb. weight) of these skins are said to be annually imported into Ladák; which at the mean rate of one pound per skin, and of one rupee each, are worth Rs. 6,400, or £640. Half of this quantity (100 maunds), or 3,200 skins, worth Rs. 3,200, or £320, are exported to Yarkand.

Spices to the value of about Rs. 1,000, or £100, are said to be annually imported into Ladák, of which the greater part, or Rs. 800 worth, are carried to Yarkand.

Saffron is supplied entirely by Kashmir. The quantity varies; but the usual supply is said to be twenty maunds, or 640 lb.; which, at the rate of forty rupees per seer, is worth Rs. 12,800, or £1,280. The whole is exported to Yarkand.

Cloths of all the coarser sorts, and a considerable number of flowered cottons and bright-coloured chintzes, form an important article of Ladáki trade. The annual amount is about 100 maunds, or 3,200 lb., in value Rs. 10,000, or £1,000. A small quantity is used in

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439 Ladák for the bordering of skull-caps, but the remainder is exported to Yarkand.

Tea is more or less drunk by everybody in Ladák, and a considerable quantity is therefore imported both for home consumption and for the supply of Kashmir and the Punjáb. The gross annual import is said to be 1,000 maunds, or 32,000 lb.; which, at the rate of three rupees per seer, is worth Rs. 9,600. About 200 maunds (6,400 lb.) is exported, leaving only 800 maunds, or 25,600 lb., for the use of the people of Ladák. This will not give more than three ounces to each person; but there is good reason for believing that a considerable quantity of Chinese tea is smuggled into Ladák; and we know that the black tea of Bisahar is now largely imported to be mixed with the Chinese tea. The average supply for each individual cannot therefore be less than half a pound. In England it reaches a pound and a quarter for each person.*

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DUTIES.—IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

YARKAND.

On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Charas, per maund	2	4	0
„ Wool	2	4	0
„ Tea	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	8	0

On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Cloths, Láki, &c. per maund ...	0	4	0
„ Opium	0	4	0

No other duties are now taken on exports to Yarkand.

KASHMIR.

On Cloths, per maund	1	0	0
„ Saffron „ ...	3	0	0
„ Brocades, per piece	0	8	0
„ Shawls, per pair	0	8	0
„ Tobacco	0	4	0
„ Ghi	0	4	0

On Wool, per maund	0	8	0
„ Tea, per dama ...	1	0	0
„ Langa and Siling, per piece ...	0	2	0

* M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary.

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On Imports.	Rs.	a.	p.	On Exports.	Rs.	a.	p.
On Sugar-candy ...	1	4	0				
„ Spices	1	4	0				
„ Opium	2	8	0				
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0				

BISAHAR.

On Opium, per maund	1	4	0	On Charas, per maund	0	10	0
„ Spices	0	10	0	„ Gold and Silver, per yámbu ...	0	8	0
„ Cloths	0	10	0				
„ Iron	1	0	0				

NURPUR.

On every pony-load ...	3	0	0

ZANSKAR.

On Láki, per maund	2	2	6
„ Ghi	0	4	0
„ Honey	0	2	0
„ Opium	2	8	0
„ Otter-skins ...	2	8	0

The following tables show the annual amount and value of all the imports and exports of the trade of Ladák, with the total amount of duty levied on each article.

IMPORTS FROM THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Seer.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool	4,000	128,000	2 0 0	1,28,000	12,800	0 8 0	2,000	200
Wool	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 8 0	500	50
Tea	1,000	32,000	3 0 0	48,000	4,800	0 2 0	2,000	200
Charas	500	16,000	3 0 0	24,000	2,400	2 4 0	1,125	112½
Tobacco ..	4,000	128,000	1 0 0	64,000	6,400	0 4 0	1,000	100
Borax	2,500	80,000	0 0 6	1,250	125	0 4 0	625	62½
Sulphur ..	400	12,800	0 1 0	400	40	0 4 0	100	10
Total ..	13,400	428,000		2,67,650	26,765		7,350	735

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IMPORTS FROM THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	2 8 0	1,250	125
Shawls, pairs	500	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000	0 8 0	250	25
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000	0 8 0	200	20
Lúki	200	6,400	32 0 0	6,400	640	2 2 6	431	43
Spices	—	—	—	1,000	100	0 15 0	100	10
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280	3 0 0	60	6
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000	1 0 0	100	10
Total ..	820	26,240		2,20,200	22,020		2,391	239

EXPORTS TO THE INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Shawl-wool*	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 8 0	1,600	160
Ditto †	3,200	102,400	2 0 0	1,02,400	10,240	0 12 0	2,400	240
Total ..	6,400	204,800		2,04,800	20,480		4,000	400
Wool‡	5,000	160,000	0 2 0	10,000	1,000	0 2 0	625	62½
Ditto §	1,000	32,000	0 2 0	2,000	200	0 2 0	125	12½
Total ..	6,000	192,000		12,000	1,200		700	70
Tea	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 4 0	800	80
Charas	200	32,000	3 0 0	9,600	960	0 10 0	125	12½
Borax	3,000	96,000	0 0 6	1,500	150	0 4 0	750	75
Sulphur	500	16,000	0 1 0	500	50	0 4 0	125	12½
Total ..	16,300	521,600		2,38,000	23,800		6,550	655

* Exported to Kashmir.
† Exported to other places.
‡ Home produce.
§ Imported from Chang Thang.

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EXPORTS TO THE CHINESE TERRITORIES.

Articles.	Quantity.		Value.			Duty.		
	Maunds.	lb.	Rate per Ser.	Rupees.	£.	Rate per Maund.	Rupees.	£.
Opium	500	16,000	15 0 0	1,20,000	12,000	0 4 0	125	12½
Shawls, pairs	500	—	100 0 0	50,000	5,000			
Brocades, pcs.	400	—	50 0 0	20,000	2,000			
Lâki.....	100	3,200	32 0 0	3,200	320	0 4 0	25	2½
Spices	—	—	—	800	80			
Saffron	20	640	40 0 0	12,800	1,280			
Cloths	100	3,200	—	10,000	1,000			
Total ..	720	23,040		2,16,000	21,600		150	15

TOTALS OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

	Value.		Duty.	
	Rupees.	£.	Rupees.	£.
Imports.				
From the Chinese Territories ...	2,67,650	26,765	7,350	735
„ Indian „ ...	2,20,200	22,020	2,391	239
Total Imports ...	4,87,850	48,785	9,741	974
Exports.				
To the Indian Territories ...	2,38,000	23,800	6,550	655
„ Chinese „ ...	2,16,000	21,600	150	15
Total Exports ...	4,54,000	45,400	6,700	670

The total amount of duties thus collected is Rs. 16,441. This, with the addition of other small duties on Chinese silks, salt, iron, and copper vessels, will amount to about Rs. 18,000, which was the acknowledged amount

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of the duties collected in Ladák both before and after Gulab Sing's conquest. I have therefore some reason to believe in the general accuracy of the statements which I received from the merchants, although perhaps not one of them may be strictly correct. Statistical questions are particularly puzzling to ignorant men, who are unaccustomed to deal with large numbers, and when they get beyond hundreds begin to talk of lacs. I found too, that the statements of the Kashmiris were generally false, and I believe wilfully so; at least the returns which they gave me of the numbers of people and *kháls* of land in the different villages of Drás, were undoubtedly manufactured for the occasion. Thus every house had exactly one man, one woman, and one boy, and every village possessed exactly three *kháls* of land. But the mis-statements of the Botis arose, I believe, generally from ignorance, as I never could find any obviously manufactured statistics, like those of the Kashmiris. I have already noticed the close agreement between the sum of my detailed accounts of the import and export duties, and the gross amount of Rs. 18,000, which was universally said to be the total amount of all the duties collected in Ladák. I will now add another fact that will most probably tend to increase the reliance which the first would induce us to place in the general accuracy of these details. A considerable quantity of silver in ingots, or bars, is annually brought into Ladák by the Yarkandis, thus proving that the value of the merchandise which they import is less than that which they export. Now these details exhibit precisely the same fact, as I will now show.

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IMPORTS FROM YARKAND.

Shawl-wool	Rs. 28,000
Tea	48,000
Charas	24,000
Tobacco	64,000
	164,000
Add ponies, sugar-candy, drugs, skins, turquoises	16,000
	180,000
Exports to Yarkand	216,000
Excess of Exports	Rs. 36,000

This sum is equal to upwards of 216 silver ingots, called *yámbu* and *kuru*, each of which is worth Rs. 166. The fact that Yarkandi bullion is constantly being [651] brought into the Ladák market is further proved by the duty of half a rupee, which is levied on each ingot when it is exported to Bisahar.

All merchandise is called *Tshong*, and the merchants or dealers *Tshong-pa;* as, *Bal-Tshong*, a wool-merchant; *Chhang-Tshong*, a spirit-dealer. Merchants are also called *Don-thun*, or "Ware-gatherers;" but the usual term is *Tshong-pa*. The chief, or head merchant, is *Tshong-pon*. Any regular gathering of merchants, such as annual meeting at Garo, is called *Tshong-dus*, a fair; and the friendly glass, which is partaken together after the completion of a bargain, is named *Tshong-chhang*, "the mercantile glass."

COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

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In Ladák one meets with the coinage, as well as with the merchandise, of all the surrounding countries. The golden *tilás* of Bokhara and Kokand (or Kokan), the sycee silver and pierced copper coins of China, the thin

I.C unningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

685 and, with a stone fastened to his neck, was cast headlong into the Indus from the Chachot bridge.

681 The laws of Ladák still continue in force under the rule of Mahárája Guláb Sing, with the single exception of death for the slaughter of kine. This punishment was early carried into effect in some eight or ten cases in the different districts of Ladák. In 1841 and 1842 at Nubra, Chachot, Lé, and Nyimo, single individuals were put to death, and their bodies exposed on gibbets, by Jhandu, the thanadar of Lé, for killing and eating kine. All these were Musulmáns from Balti. In Drás, where all the population are Mahomedans, several were put to death by Gusáun Thanadar for the same cause. The skeleton of the man gibbeted at Lé, in 1841, was still nearly perfect in October 1847, when I saw it.

IV.—REVENUE.

The chief sources of revenue in Ladák were a tax on property and a duty on merchandise. The tax, called *Khral*, *Thang*, or *Shá*,* was levied on the dwellings and not on the lands; for as the lands did not produce sufficient food for the sustenance of the people, the establishment of a land-tax would have been absurd. The mass of the people obtained their living by the *transport* of wool and other goods *through* their own country, to and from Yarkand and Kashmir. The duties, called *Shogam*, were imposed on merchandise, both imports and exports, and the whole revenue thus obtained was called *Thob-thang*.

• [439]

The tax on houses was collected partly in kind, *Brú-*

* *Khral*, pronounced *Thal* in some districts, *Thang*, and *dPya*, the last being pronounced *Sha* or *Cha*.

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159 the maharaja's service, in the governorship of Ladák
634 Proper, of which the capital is Lé. His personal salary is only Rs. 500 a month, but he is permitted to trade on his own account to a limited extent; and his profits, together with the presents which he receives from merchants and others, amount to a very handsome income,
[439] which was estimated vaguely at Rs. 20,000 a year. But the maharaja himself is the chief trader in his own
[643] dominions, more particularly in the two staple articles, the export of saffron, and the import of wool. I have therefore strong doubts whether Basti Rám can realize more than ten or twelve thousand rupees yearly. But even this sum, when added to his personal salary, will yield him a respectable income of Rs. 18,000, or nearly £1,800 a year.

634 There are five thanadars, who are placed in the following districts, over which they exercise military command as well as civil authority. 1. Ladák; 2. Zanskar; 3. Kargyil; 4. Drás; 5. Nubra. The salaries of these officers, at the average rate of about Rs. 300 a month, amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum.

701 The number of troops garrisoned in Ladák was variously stated to me by different individuals at from 600 to 800 men; of whom about 200 are stationed at Lé, and in different parts of the district of Ladák Proper. The others are divided among the remaining districts. At Lé also there are thirty artillerymen with a battery of four guns.

701 The military expenses were estimated at between
652 thirty and forty thousand rupees a year; and as the pay of the soldier is nominally five rupees a month, this sum (Rs. 36,000) would support a force of 600 men. But the men do not receive more than two or three rupees in

adopted child behaves badly, the adoption can be set aside and another child be adopted, unless the child which misbehaved has a child, in which case the young child is retained and the misbehaving parent, or parents, is, or are, turned out of the family. If after having adopted children, a man's wife bears him a child, the adopted son and the real son are considered brothers, the adopted son being considered the elder brother. If the real son objects to this, the family property is equally divided between the adopted and the real son. 597 593 597 428

[4] ALTAR--hláto or láto the round heaps of stones erected on the crest of a pass or the top of a mountain whereon horns are placed and first fruit offerings offered up to the Hla or gods. 778 782

[5] ANGEL-- A Christian Missionary speaks of angels as konjok i phóngia or God's ambassadors. A Tibetan not acquainted with the tenets of the Christian faith would not understand what was meant by the expression. Buddhists believe in gods and goddesses and demons, but they have nothing which corresponds exactly with our idea of "angel." konjok is the great ideal divine principle having neither form or feature. The good spirits or angels or minor deities are called Hla (male), and Hlámo (fem.)--but see under heading "Spirit." 776 779

[6] APRICOT-- chooli (fresh); pháting (the dried apricots which come from Baltistan and are far superior to the Kabul dried apricots known in India as khoománi). The best apricots come from Shigar just below Skardu. Large quantities of dried apricots are exported from Baltistan to Ladák, Chángtháng and Lhássa. Ladák is too cold for apricot trees to fruit well, but there are a few good trees in Nubra and at Saspul. Apricots are not dried in Ladák. The common small apricots of Ladák have frequently a bitter taste, but the poor people value them, as an oil is extracted from the kernels, which serves either as an oil for burning, or for cooking purposes. The cost of apricot oil is almost as much as that of kerosine oil. It is called "riseegoo i marnak." 245 439 251 372 245

588 Makpa is the term for the-bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595 [554]

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

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[19] Tibet AJ1

CENOTAPH--chhorten or chhotrten. The word "chhorten" means "a receptacle of offerings" Mr. Jasche describes them as being "a sacred pyramidal building, of a form varying in different countries...they were originally sepulchres, containing the relics of departed saints, and therefore called "dung rten" afterwards they were erected as cenotaphs, i.e., in honour of saints buried elsewhere, but in more recent times they are looked upon as holy symbols of the Buddhist doctrine." In Ladák, a wealthy Buddhist builds a "chhorten" for himself, leaving in the upper part of it a niche wherein, after his death and cremation, his ashes and powdered bones are placed. The niche is then built up. WT 778 764

[20] CHABA--chhaba. This is a corruption of "chhápa" meaning "tea man". The Leh officials speak of the Lhása commercial agent as the "chaba". His proper title is the zhung tsong or "zhung tsongpa" which means the merchant of the "deyva zhung" of Lhása. He comes once every year, and stays at Leh for about 8 months. He is sent by the Lhása Government, and is supplied with free carriage the whole way from Lhása to Leh, to the extent of 260 yaks or ponies for loading, and 15 riding ponies. During his stay at Leh, he is provided by the Kashmir Durbar with the following quantities of supplies, viz., flour 64 seers, butter 10 seers, sheep 1, grass 5 maunds, fuel 5 maunds. Two servants are also placed at his disposal. The principal articles brought by the "chaba" are tea (chiefly green brick tea), musk pods, incense sticks, Chinese turquoises, and certain medicines such as jádwár ("aconitus ferox") and momeera ("coptis teeta"). He takes back to Lhasa, saffron, Báltistán dried apricots and sugar. This "chaba" commercial agent is, in a way, connected with what is known as the "Lapchak mission" which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. For further information see "Lapchak". The Chhaba Mission being a profitable one; the right to conduct it is sold yearly by the Lhása Government, to a Lhása merchant. WT 441 439 T 441 439 492 WT 648 T 648 T 439 WT 439 T [441]

[21] CHIEF--gópa or góba the headman of village, etc., chenmo (principal). WT 622

CHIRAGH--skiontsey small--made of clay, stone or metal, for household use chut-khung the large brass or copper vessels in which oil is kept burning in temples. WT 415 788

583 DOWER--rinto or zho or in the case of Mahomedans "mehr." The sum of money paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. The goods given to a woman on her marriage, including what we should call her "trousseau," and "dot" is called "raktak".

534 DRUM--denjang the big drum--body of wood and played upon like our big drums; dolti a brass drum like a kettle drum; daman a kettle drum; daps a drum played with the hands like a tambourine; daroo a very peculiar little drum used by lámas when dancing. It is shaped like an hour-glass and held in the centre, short strings with small pieces of wood attached to their ends are fastened on at either end; and when the hand is shaken these pieces of wood come in contact with the parchment heads of the drum, and thus sound it. There being several strings at each end, the sound produced is rather that of a rattle than of a drum. Denjang (or dolti, etc.,) rdung ches to play the drum.

[792]

273 DRUNKARD--rárospa or ráros or rároskhan. The Ladákis can not be called drunkards. They all drink chhang very freely, and frequently get very cheery in consequence, but even in their cups they are usually good tempered and hármless. They seldom get dead drunk. The expression zeekopkop chha ches signifies to be fuddled, or partially intoxicated.

439 [35]DYE--tshos the durable dyes of the country, rang the bright,
386 but not fast, dyes imported from India.

136 EAGLE--lák. The Chinese or Lhasa pug dogs are called "lák khee"
825 because it is believed that if a human being lays hands upon a young eagle, when freshly hatched, the bird is transformed into a dog of the Chinese pug breed.

291 EAR FLAP--hnaslan or noslan. The woollen lappets worn by Ladáki women over their ears. In shape and size they resemble the blinkers worn by a carriage horse. They are edged with fur and are plaited into the hair.

731 EARTHQUAKE--samgul. Ladákis think that the earth is supported,
823 in the midst of an ocean, on the back of a large fish, and that whenever this fish rolls about, earthquakes are felt. In

LADAK THEY ARE ALMOST UNKNOWN.

1 [i.e., BARLEY BEER -- ANALYST]

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called
•[439] "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rom khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [4r3] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

● [439] 563 4r3 443

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--âney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

776 word means haunted by an unembodied spirit, the latter means haunted by the spirit of a living person. The former

291 HEAD DRESS--kasába the red turban worn by ArGHon women, gen-
301 erally adorned with a turquoise-studded silver or gold ornament, called "joogin" fastened above the centre of the forehead. dáón the white sheet worn over the kasába, covering the whole of it, except a band across the forehead, and coming down behind as far as the waist. peyrak the broad stiff leather, turquoise studded head-dress worn, always by Buddhist women of Ladák, and oc-
[554] casionally by ArGHon women. The size of the peyrak depends upon the wealth of the owner--a good one is perhaps 10 inches wide at the top and 3 feet long, and worth Rs. 300. The ordinary peyrak is perhaps 4 inches wide and 24 inches long, and worth about 50 rupees. When a woman is young she invests her worldly wealth in turquoises, which she fastens on to her peyrak. Later on, when her eldest daughter marries, most of these tur-
[583] quoises are given to her as a dowry. The turquoises used for this
• [439] purpose come from China. They are large flattish stones of a greenish colour and [59] full of flaws. Even a good one is worth only about 50 rupees.

784 In former days the Buddhists had a prejudice against the kasába and
291 dáón, and they would not allow any woman wearing this head-dress, to come upon their fields, the prejudice has now almost entirely died out.

798 HEATHEN--The Ladákis have no such word, they would speak of a person as belonging to a certain religion. If they wished to say he was an atheist, they could apply to him the word "armen-dirmen".

779 HEAVEN--namkha the region or space above us--the sky--where the
772 birds are flying and the saints are soaring, where it lightens and thunders, etc.--the ether--as the fifth element (vide Jaschke's Dict. p. 303) zhingkham or thóris or ótsál the everlasting abode of the spirits of the pious or of those who have atoned for their sins by remaining in hell for a certain time. The Buddhist heaven is not like the Christian heaven--indeed it is hard to say what it is supposed to be like, for it must be remembered that for a Buddhist to speak of "going to heaven" is equivalent to his speaking of "attaining nirvána" (which see). Tibetans of the

175 the territory ceded to the British by the Sikhs, under Article IV
648 of the Treaty of the 9th of March 1846. Immediately after the
631 conclusion of this treaty, the British Government arranged to sell the whole of the territory ceded by the Sikhs, to Raja Gulab Singh of Jamoo, for a crore of rupees (Rs. 10,000,000), but as it was, on reconsideration of the question, deemed inexpedient to make over the whole of the territories in question, a treaty was concluded with Raja Gulab Singh, on 16th March 1846, the result of which was that Spiti and Lahaul remained British territory, and that Raja Gulab Singh paid the British Government only three quarters of a crore instead of a full crore of rupees.

643 Ladák is now governed by a Wazir assisted by a Naib (or Deputy)
701 Wazir. The garrison of the country consists of about 50 Regular soldiers, 50 Irregular soldiers, and some 70 Ladáki soldiers.
712 There are forts at Khalsi, and Leh, the former is held by a guard of 6 or 8 men the remainder of the troops being in garrison at Leh. There used to be a fort at Shushot, but it has recently been pulled down as it was found to be of no use. The revenue of the country amounts to about Rs. 64,000 a year, and the expenditure to about Rs. 32,000.

131 Considered by itself, Ladák is a poor and insignificant country, but, politically speaking, it is of some importance, as its frontiers
•439 are conterminous, on the north, with those of the Chinese, and on the east, with those of the Lhása Government. From a commercial point of view it is also a place of some importance, as a considerable portion of the trade between India and Central Asia passes through it. During the past three years the value of this trade has averaged about 15 lakhs Rs. (15,00,000) a year.

A few merchants carry on a "through" trade, between India and Turkistan, but the mass of the trade is carried on between Indians and Kashmiris who come up as far as Leh only, and there exchange their goods for the products [79] of Central Asia, brought down by merchants, who do not go further south than Leh. This trade is most beneficial to Ladák, for as it is a long and hard journey from Leh to Yarkhand, or even from Leh to India, merchants, on reaching Leh, are glad to rest themselves and their baggage ponies (camels are not used) for a month,
443 or even two months, before attempting the return journey. The result is that during the months of August, September and October the country people reap a small harvest by supplying

WT 772 775 688

once scourged and dismissed. No yellow Láma who has been scourged can remain a Láma.

Among the Drukpa or red sect, Lámás may be flogged without being at the same time unfrocked; they also have minor punishments, such as being obliged to cut and carry thorn bushes, or to perform other tasks of a similar nature.

WT 311

LAND--sa (as opposed to water, or generally) zhing (cultivated land). táGHok (land temporarily cultivated), zhing-GHok or zhing stong (ownerless or waste land).

WT 423 241

LANDMARK--zhing-i theyór (or tho), as between lands of different persons. Tshiks, the strip of land left uncultivated along the edges of every field.

WT 788 648 T 788 648

LAPCHAK--lópchhak. This word means really "yearly salám" and it is used to signify the Mission, (a relic of the old days) which is sent from Leh to Lhása every third year. The old Ladák Rajas considered themselves subordinate to Lhása, certainly from a spiritual, and possibly from a temporal, point of view, and they therefore used to depute a party to Lhása, for the purpose of conveying their respectful salutations [86] to the Grand Láma, otherwise known as the Dalái Láma, or the Giálwa Rinpochey, or the Deba (Deva) Jung (Zhung). The party is always under the leadership of a man belonging to one of the noblest Ladák families; it leaves Leh about 20th September, and after halting for 3 weeks or a month at the famous Tashi Lunpo monastery, reaches Lhasa about the end of January. The party remains at Lhása for 8 months and reaches Leh about December. The post of Lapchak leader is much sought after, for not only is it a very honorable one but it carries with it certain commercial advantages of a very lucrative description. The Lapchak leader is allowed free carriage to and from Lhása, (a distance of about 90 day's journey), for 346 horse-loads of goods. It may be imagined what a terrible tax this is, on the poor Tartars who have to provide this free carriage, for the benefit of the Lhása and Ladák Governments. The Lapchak leader takes Baltistan dried apricots, coral, silk, saffron and sugar, and brings back China tea, incense, and certain Chinese medicinal herbs, and realizes large profits on his sales both at Leh and Lhása. Before leaving Ladák,

WT 565

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the Lapchak leader receives from the Kashmir Durbar, a cash advance of 9,000 rupees, with which to buy goods, to take to Lhasa on account of the Durbar. No exact account is kept in regard to this money which is repaid in the following manner. On the return of the Mission from Lhása, the Lapchak leader has to give to the Kashmir Durbar 18,000 rupees worth of Lhasa (Chinese) brick tea. He probably gives tea to half or three quarters of that value, and divides the difference between himself and the State Accountants, who give him a receipt for 18,000 rupees worth of tea. The Mission is therefore, notwithstanding the exaction of free transport, a probable cause of pecuniary loss to the Kashmir State. In addition to this 9,000 rupees, the Lapchak leader receives a loan of 2,000 rupees from the Kashmir Durbar. On his return he has to repay this, with interest at 6 per cent. per annum. Complimentary letters are sent to, and received from, the leading men of Lhása, by hand of the Lapchak leader. The Wazir of Ladák, i.e., the local representative of the Kashmir State, sends to the grand Láma, ten diminutive bags of gold dust, which, at the present time, are worth about ten rupees each. This custom dates from a time anterior to the Dogra (Kashmir) conquest of Ladák. The last Lapchak Mission started in 1887.

439 554 WT 662 WT 426 648 WT 648 651 T 648 651

In addition to this triennial "Lapchak" sent from Leh to Lhása, a yearly trading mission, is sent from Lhása to Leh. For further information regarding it see under the heading "Chaba."

WT 439 T 439

[87]LEASE TO--kháng-hla nen (or zum) ches (to hire a house) zhing-ló-chhat la nen ches (to take land on lease for a certain number of years) SHas la nen ches (to take land on lease in perpetuity, by paying down a lump sum at the time of executing the lease, and continuing to pay a small, often almost a nominal, sum, in each succeeding year). This is the general custom in Ladák, as people do not like to sell their land outright.

WT 427

LEATHER--kóa (of cow or ox, uncured) kóa ngieskhan (cured) ralpak (of goats, uncured) lukspak (of sheep, uncured) tángskee (of goats or sheep, cured) suruKH(the goats skin imported from India, dyed red, and used for making the upper part of the long boots called "cháruk") sakrey or SHal (the green coloured leather used in shoes of Indian pattern).

WT 281

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [489] MASTIFF--zang-khee or cháng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the cháng-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or náng. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian
777 Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they con-
794 fine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures
788 aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Mâneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra
195 (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

● 439 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are im-
435 ported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yárkhand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

352 (about 18 inches high); thorchok (about 24 inches high), and rgialchok (the king's table as high as that of a European).

554 On great occasions, when Ladákis feed together, the height of a
352 man's table marks his rank. The lowest in rank sit on the ground and feed off a ltapchok, while the great men sit upon cushions and feed off a thorchok, and so on.

281 TANNER--hlamkhan. The art of tanning is unknown in Ladák, where
439 most of the leather used is imported from India. The local mode of dealing with a fresh hide is to wash it, dry it, again to wash it, then to rub it well with oil and to leave it to dry. The whole operation takes about four days, and the result is a very bad leather.

[157]

651 TAX--SHoGHam (octroi and general term); bap or mámila (the land tax); rátot (the cash payment taken by the State in place of a certain number of goats due as revenue); lugtot (ditto in regard to sheep); martot (ditto in regard to "thee"), also SHingtot and phugtot (ditto in regard to wood and straw).

In Lahaul the word "thal" or "thral" means "tax," but in Ladák it is used only in regard to the indirect tax, called "beygar", i.e., "forced labour."

272 TEA--chha (generic term); chhápak or chha-i-páoo (Lhása brick
439 tea); chha-i-góla (Indian ball tea); cha hngonpo (Indian green leaf tea); chha-i-zangja (coarse black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-sar (good black Lhása brick tea); chha-i-reekar (the best black Lhása brick tea); dámoo means "a brick" of tea of any sort.

Ladákis like the chha-i reekar best, but as it costs two rupees odd per pound, they cannot indulge in it often. Ladákis mix soda, salt, butter and milk into their tea, but they do not use sugar.

415 TEA-CUP--kórey (the drinking vessel of the country, made of wood and shaped more like a saucer than a cup); káriól (or káról) i-korey (a China cup.)

[439] TEA-POT--teepreel or chháteep, or respectfully solteep. Also sámáwár (the Russian tea urn; many of these are brought down to Leh by Central Asian traders).

TEA-SPOON--thurmang chhungan (the ordinary spoon); chhá'thum, or respectfully solthum (the large brass spoon with which tea is ladled into the cups). 415 195

TEMPLE--Ladákis have no temples, and are not addicted to congregational worship. Almost every man has in his own house, if he is a rich man, a "Hlakchhung" or "idol room," where a Lama always is on duty to attend to the lights, repeat prayers, etc., and if he is a poor man a "Chhotkhang" or idol room. The apartment in a monastery where the sacred books are kept is called the "Chhoskhang." The room in a monastery where congregational worship takes place is called "Dookhang" or Rdookhang. 346 778 565 792 792 779 794

[160]TOBACCO--tamak. Ladákis smoke the pure leaf of the tobacco plant, grown in Baltistan. They dislike the abomination of the Indian bázár. 276 439

TOOTH-ACHE--so-i-zuk. Tibetans think that tooth-ache and the decay of teeth is caused by the presence of a small worm, which they call "So-i-boo." 763

[161]TRANSMIGRATION--khorwa or skorwa, the theory of "metempsychosis" (which see) or the six classes of beings in which re-birth of the soul may take place. 775

TRAP--peeltem (any kind of contrivance, other than a snare or noose, for catching animals); peerdung (with falling trap door, like a rat-trap). 224

TRINITY--konjok sum. The Buddhist Trinity consists of (1) sangeys konjok (Buddha); (2) chhos konjok (the Buddhist scripture); (3) geyndun konjok (the Buddhist priesthood). 779

[162]

TROUSSEAU--raktak. This is the word used to denote the whole of the property, of whatever kind, which a girl gets from her parents when she marries. The chief object, from the bride-groom's point of view, of having a set wedding is to get hold of this "raktak," for if there is no formal wedding, there is probably no "raktak." Hence the object of celebrating a wedding long after the woman has become the unmarried wife of the man. But see "Marriage." 583

534 TRUMPET--turump (military); zangdung (the long copper trumpet, used by Lamas; it is about eight feet long, one man holds the mouth-piece and blows it, while another holds up the other end of the instrument).

429 TRUSTEE--chólma. The old Ladak custom in regard to trusts was that, except in family matters, if a man entrusted his goods to another to keep, that person was answerable for them for only nine years. If the owner failed to demand his property within that period, his claim lapsed. Hence a trustee was called a "chólma lórgioo" or "nine years' trustee."

301 TURQUOISE--hioo (general term); hioothra (the small stones used for rings, etc.); dunhioo (the large stone worn on the front centre of the "peyrak" (see "Head dress"); hioo (the ordinary Stones on the "peyrak"). There are separate names to describe the exact kind of stone, thus the "hioopuk" is the best, it is free from flaws and with very little green in it; the "thrukmar" is the next best, and "thrukkar" is the next [163] best. These three classes comprise all the good stones. In-
● [439] ferior kinds are known as "pot-hioo" and "rgiáhioo." Turquoises of the last two classes come to Ladák from Lhása or China; they are full of flaws and generally very green. The best turquoises come up from India. Ladákis object to flaws, but they like a little green, as they consider it a sort of guarantee that the turquoise has not been manufactured.

763 ULCER--hngiánbur or shooa (general). Ladákis think that fish living
776 in or near a spring are really fairies; they call them "hlángia," or "hloongia" or "tungngia," according to their species. It is supposed that if a person eats, or troubled with these fish, he will be troubled with ulcers, which will not heal till the injured fish recovers its health. Such ulcers are called "hlooskion."

783 UNCTION--thrus táng (or sol) ches. This is the word used to express the Lámáistic ceremony of pouring holy water, from a pungpa," over the head of a person, to cleanse him from his sins. After pouring a little water on the head, the worshipper receives a little water in the palm of his hand; he drinks a little, and then puts the rest of it to his eyes.

apricots mature in the hot summer sun of 511
the highland plateaus up to a height of approximately 3,500 meters. [245]

Milk is supplied by the cows, the ordinary Indian cow, the yak cow, and the dsomo, a cross between the yak bull and the ordinary [234] cow. The sheep and the goats supply meat for those whose Buddhistic conscience permits it. Wool for spinning and weaving is derived from [236] the sheep, but in this case additional coarse wool must be bought from the merchant, since the yield from the shearing of their own herd is not sufficient. The goats and the yaks yield the coarse wool for the weaving of blankets, coarse carpets, sackcloth, and for the making of string.

If the Tibetan farmer is thus to a great extent self-sufficient 437 there nevertheless remains a large number of items that belong to the necessities of life with him and which he must buy. He cannot keep up with the consumption of butter because of the great amounts he uses in the preparation of the butter tea. He buys butter from traveling merchants; this butter is sewn into goat hides and often leaves a great deal to be desired so far as its cleanliness is concerned. Salt, which is in great demand with him, he obtains in exchange for grain or dried apricots, from the nomads of the upland plateaus of Rupchu or Jangtang. These nomads break the salt from the numerous /120/ dried-up salt [135] lake beds of their homeland and through a long, laborious journey they have their sheep and goats carry it on their backs in small sacks, in order to purchase with it in exchange trade the above-named goods and other merchandise in the neighboring provinces of Ladakh, Spiti, Lahul, and Sangskar. The highly coveted natron (used as addition to the butter tea) is likewise supplied by these upland plateaus where in many places it is found as a residue of dried-up salt water lakes. From 439 the Indian merchant the Tibetan buys Indian tea, spices, dye stuffs to dye the cloth, cotton cloth from Indian and English cottonmills (Manchester), European blue, brown, or red cloth for festive clothes, sashes, as well as all kinds of tools, combs made of hardwood, mirrors, knives, sewing materials, cheap standard clocks, soap, candies, tobacco, and many other items.

In the house of the Dragshos order and industrious work were 461 always held to be very important. From the early spring until well into the late autumn they arose together with the sun and went to work, which usually was not stopped till the sun went down, and frequently much later when darkness was setting in.

The plowing of the fields was done by the master of the house, 241 as was the custom with all farmers; the watering and weeding was done 462

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrú* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul.

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Production and consumption of food grains.

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Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only; and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population, and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpahú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers.

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SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

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In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans A

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Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

from five to ten per house, which in winter they are obliged to keep and feed in-doors. *Pashm*, the soft down used for shawl-making, forms under the coat of sheep, goats, and other animals in Spiti, though to a less extent than in the plateaux of Tibet, the beasts being kept under cover, whereas in Tibet, the snow is never so deep that sheep and goats cannot live in the open air, reaching the grass by scraping amid the snow.

Ponies are scarce in Láhaul; but Spiti has a handsome breed. The ponies are small, but well-shaped, sure-footed, and capable of great endurance. Their pace is a kind of amble or running walk, at which they will traverse long distances over bad roads at a considerable speed. Ponies are also imported into Spiti from Chamarti in Tibet, where the breed is of a larger kind. Many ponies are annually sold in Basáhir and Kúlu, but the great traffic is with Chamarti, the Spiti men bartering a full-grown, broken in pony, for two Chamarti colts: one of these they sell, while the second is in turn changed, [illegible] broken in, for two more colts. In this way money is raised wherewith to pay the revenue and purchase luxuries such as tea and tobacco. The price of a good pony in Spiti ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100. In the lower part of the valley they are kept out at grass most of the winter; but must be stall-fed in the upper valley. Nearly all are gelded. In Láhaul only the Thákurs, and more successful traders keep ponies. Such of the landowners as keep them hire them out at very high rates to merchants trading between Léh and Kúlu.

For plough-cattle and milch-kine the hybrid between the common cow of the Himalayas and the Tibetan *yák* is preferred both in Láhaul and Spiti. In Spiti, with the exception of an imported bull or two, all the cattle are either pure or half-bred *yáks*. The pure-bred *yák* (*Bos Grunniens*) is used to carry loads, and occasionally for riding on journeys, but his pace is very slow, and if heavily laden, or taken long marches, he is apt to get foot-sore. The *yák* is thus described by Captain Harcourt:—"With an average height of from 12 to 13 hands, furnished with a very bovine head (much depressed below the line of the back), a fine pair of horns, very long shaggy coat, and short strong legs, the *yák* presents an appearance of immense power, to which the wild glare of the eye adds an aspect of rude ferocity." The usual colour is black, but the tail, of fine silky wool, is frequently grey, or creamy white. Tails of this colour form an article of export, and, under the name of *chauri*, fetch a high price in the plains. They are used as fans or brushes for a protection against flies. The hair also of the *yák* is utilised in Spiti for manufacture into a strong coarse rope. The animal does not thrive at a lower elevation than 10,000 feet, and all attempts have failed to domesticate it, even in Kúlu. Large herds are not kept in Spiti, owing to the difficulty of feeding them where the snow lies very deep. They can, however, clear a way to grass below the snow to a surprising depth.

Asses of a small but very strong breed are kept in Spiti, and a few in Láhaul as beasts of burden.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Live-Stock. 132

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul. [221]

The Láhaulís keep only a few sheep and goats, as the snow lies too long and too deep in the winter for the flocks to live out of doors as they do in Ladákh. For a very long time, therefore, the upper ends of the main valleys, which are uninhabited, and the grounds high above the villages in the inhabited parts, have been utilized by the Gaddí shepherds of Kángra and Chamba, and the Kolí shepherds of Kúlu. The snow begins to disappear in these places about the beginning of June; the shepherds do not ordinarily enter Láhaul before the end of that month, and they leave it again early in September, by which time the frost is beginning to be biting, and the rainy season in the outer Himalayan country has come to an end. In the fine dry climate in Láhaul the sheep escape the foot rot and other diseases which constantly attack flocks kept during the rains on the southern slopes of the outer Himalayas. The sheep arrive wretchedly thin, but by the time they are ready to leave, are in splendid condition. A short fine grass of a dull bluish-green colour, called *niru*, is their favourite food; *mat* and *morár* are names of other good kinds of grasses. The goats depend very much on the leaves and twigs of the birch and bush willow. The Gaddí shepherds are much more careful and energetic shepherds than the Kolís; they may be seen herding their goats on the face of tremendous precipices; with one woollen coat and a blanket they sleep out exposed to an icy wind, and take no harm; sometimes, however, the cold drives them to creep into the huddled-up flocks and pass the night with two or three sheep on top of them for a coverlid. Their sheep are reputed strong and hardy above those of any other shepherds. People as far away as the Bhotia traders of Kumáon, buy a great many every year at high prices as beasts of burden for the trade over the great snowy range between Kumáon and Tibet. These grazing grounds or sheep-runs of foreign shepherds in Láhaul are called *dhárs* or *bans* or *nigáhrs*. A *dhár* or *ban* is often sub-divided into several *vand*, each *vand* containing enough ground to graze one full flock or *khandáh* of sheep and goats. Each *dhár* has its more or less precisely fixed boundaries, and the *wariśi* or title to it, is understood to have originated in a grant from a Rája of Kúlu, or a Thákur of Láhaul. Among the Gaddís some transfers by gift or sale appear to have taken place, and in several cases the original family which obtained the grant has long ceased to use the *dhár*; but in recognition of its old title the shepherd now in possession has to halt a day on the journey back and let his sheep manure the fields of the original owner, with whose permission his occupation commenced. Whether the original owner could now turn out an old occupant of this kind is a doubtful question. The grey-beards seem to think that he could send up any number of his own sheep, but could not put in a third person to the detriment of the old occupant. The title of the Kolí shepherds to their *dhárs* is the same as that by which they hold their *nigáhrs* in Kúlu. In some few instances a *dhár* was granted to a *wazír*, or person of influence, as a personal favour; but, as a general rule, they seem to have been given to the men of certain hamlets or *pháṭis* collectively, though perhaps the *patta* or deed of grant contained only one man's name. There are many fine runs in the uninhabited part of the Chandra valley above *purána* Koksar, which,

[57] [439] 423 233 [405]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Chapter IV, C. — Occupations, Industries and Commerce. — Occupations.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

439 Chapter IV, D. Weights and Measures, and Communications.

and the wooden vessels from Kanáwar, coarse cloth, dying drugs soda and yeast from Ladákh, and iron from Mandi and Kanáwar. For a reference to the trade in ponies, see *ante* page 136.

SECTION D.—WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, AND COMMUNICATIONS.

000 Communications.

The communications of Láhaul and Spiti have been fully described in Parts I and II (pages 195-96 and Chapter IV, Section D).

804 Local measure.

The mode of expressing the measurement of land in both Spiti and Láhaul resembles the method prevalent in Kúlu. The Láhaul denomination is the *lákh*, which contains 20 *páth*, both being primarily measures of seed. The *páth* as a measure of seed is equivalent to about one *seer* of standard weight. Three *khál* or *lákh* (land measure) are about equal to one standard acre. In Spiti the *khál* is the measure, and is based upon the load a sheep can carry. It contains 20 *teh*, and is smaller than the Láhauli *lákh*, ranging in capacity between 24 and 32lbs. of grain. The two measures are really the same in origin and use, though differing in name and standard.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

below, snipping every green morsel as it dropped down to Patseo.

Most lakes in Tibet are salt; great crusts of it can be dug up from the shores. It is this coarse, unrefined salt that the sheep caravans bring down. The bags are of coarse wool sewn at the top with heavy twine. They are held on the sheep with a light cinch and a small rope that functions as a breast collar. These bags are seldom taken from the sheep in transit. The designation of an animal's load in this part of the world is a *khal*, and the *khal* of a sheep is 32 pounds. The *khal* of a horse is 128 pounds; the *khal* of a yak, 188 pounds. These sheep I saw carried perhaps twenty pounds apiece.

Sheep trains also bring wool down from Tibet. For many years Lahuli men have gone north in the late spring with sheep that were sometimes loaded with merchandise, sometimes not. They grazed as they went, and when they reached Tibet they bartered their merchandise or brought produce for cash; then, loading the wool in tiny bales on their sheep, they made the long return trip to Patseo.

The sheep and goats I saw coming down from the north with salt were unpacked at Patseo, the bags being piled in walls to form small corrals where the sheep would bed down at night. The sheep caravan had more than salt to offer. The sheep and goats brought wool, too, the wool on their backs; and the shearing started shortly after the caravan was unpacked.

The sheep caravan had not yet been unloaded before a train of twenty mules came swinging down the canyon. These were powerful, rangy animals carrying huge bales. Some of the bales contained wool from Sinkiang *via* Tibet; some, tea from China. A few of the mules packed salt and borax; a few, dried bundles of wild onion (*junbu*), which is used as a spice in India, marmot skins, and silk. The bulk of the freight of the mule caravans was wool—the special Sinkiang wool from the underbelly of the goat, the wool that is used to make soft Kashmir scarves and shawls. It was unsacked and piled in the sun before weighing, in order

492 to rid it of the moisture collected from the storms it had been
•439 through during its long journey.

Several mule trains had arrived from Manali carrying cereals, tobacco, cloth, pepper, ginger, and sugar. These products from the south were exchanged for those from the north.

[804] It is a rule of thumb that five sheep loads of salt are the equiva-
437 lent of four sheep loads of barley or corn. There were scales at Patseo—crude scales that looked like miniature teeter-totters. The wool and salt were weighed; the corn and barley were weighed. Then the exchanges were made. This day—August 4, 1951—wool was selling at Patseo for two and one half rupees (fifty cents) a pound. Some money changed hands. But the bulk of the trading was by barter.

The sloping bench above the river at Patseo was dotted with tents, made mostly from pieces of canvas or cloth stretched on poles to form a roof. The walls were the sacks of grain, tea, or salt the merchants had brought to the fair or had purchased. They were piled on three sides as windbreaks. Each tent had a fire of dung. Tea was being brewed in large copper kettles; and *chapattis*—the thin, unleavened bread of India—was being baked on convex copper plates.

492 One mule train started down the trail to Kyelang and Manali loaded with salt and wool. Another started toward Leh heavy with grain. And just before we left for Zing Zing Bar a sheep train that had been at Patseo for several days started its long return journey north. The sheep looked thin and gaunt, for they had been sheared. The little bags they carried on their backs were now filled with grain. A billy was up front, leading the way. And the rest of the sheep were spreading out, looking for nibbles they had missed on the way down.

133 Zing Zing Bar (14,000 feet) is a vast rock field on the Bhaga,
137 spewed from draws that run four thousand feet or more up the mountainside. These rock slides are a mile or more wide, devoid

Ju Le, Ju Le

"Oh, the brothers often get filled up with *chan*[1] and shout at each other and argue, but they do not come to blows."

Buddha taught the principle of non-violence; and it so molded the character of the people that centuries later non-violence was a working standard even in the hurly-burly of a great caravan center such as Leh. I could find modern records of thefts but few other crimes.

Leh is on a historic caravan route that leads not only to Yarkand in Sinkiang but to Lhasa in Tibet. It thrived when commerce thrived; it had depressions when war or bandits or jealous politics diverted the stream of trade. Wool, silver, felts, tea, candy, skins, velvets, silk, gold, carpets, musk, coral, borax, jade cups, salt came down from the north. Cotton goods, shawls, brocades, opium, indigo, plumes, shoes, pearls, ginger, cloves, pepper, honey, tobacco, sugar cane, barley, rice, wheat, corn came up from the south. The large serai—about a half block square—where the caravans stopped at Leh still stands. The bazaars where the goods were sold or haggled over, the market place where men searched out new trade missions, the place where ponies were bought, sold, or rented—these are still there. People swarm through the L-shaped bazaar of Leh as they did a century or two earlier. A few of the shops are open, the merchants sitting on their haunches in small stalls weighing out walnuts or ginger, haggling over mule bells or turbans, measuring out three yards of cotton cloth.

But the ancient hum of the market is gone. Many of the stalls are closed. Their heavy wooden doors have been swung shut and fastened with padlocks. No longer are great caravans loaded with merchandise coming down from Yarkand in Sinkiang and Demchok in Tibet. In August 1951, there was some trade trickling over the Tibetan border. But it was slackening. There was none from Yarkand, for the Russians had closed the Sinkiang border. Yarkand merchants, who had picked their way over high passes to visit Leh, were now marooned. They could not return to

[1] [Barley beer--Analyst]

439 Yarkand. They had no roots in Leh. They wandered through the
178 empty bazaars, their light yellow skin almost white from sadness.
458 A depression had struck Leh. This was not a temporary depression. This was no seasonal or cyclical recession. The markets had not dried up owing to the natural causes that affect all markets. This was not demand and supply reacting in the classical way. Leh had reached the end of an era.

648 Russia had blocked the north and south trade routes that for
439 centuries had been important to both areas. From now on all the
458 commerce would move east and west. Russia would use the commerce of China and Tibet and Sinkiang to lace those three areas tightly into the Soviet Empire. If Tibetans needed sugar or barley, Russia would provide it. Russia would make their dependency on her an instrument for political control. Those who wanted barley in order to live would need be docile serfs in the Soviet scheme of things. The merchants of China, Sinkiang, and Tibet no longer would be free agents operating in an open market. The markets would be political instruments of Soviet imperialism. The candy merchants of Yarkand would now look to Russia for sugar cane. Russia would get her sugar cane by leverage on some other country and dispense it in Yarkand to the faithful. Those who did not toe the line would go without sugar.

The consequence of turning all the trade east and west is vast and incalculable. It is a part of Soviet empire building. It is part and parcel of the proselytizing of the Communist cause. The victims inside the Soviet Empire will perhaps never be known. Some of the victims outside the Soviet Empire can already be
458 seen. The bedraggled merchants of Leh face a dismal future.
438 There are no goods on the market. Scarcity has produced high prices. Real inflation has set in. Inflation has reached even to the lowly dzo that furnishes the motive power on the farm. The dzo now rents for four or five rupees a day, where one rupee used to
548 be ample. The prostitutes of Leh have revised their rates. For

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER IV

Over the Zogi Pass

THE road between Leh and Srinagar, the summer capital of the Maharajah of Kashmir, and a popular hill station for the white man, is one of the chief highways to Central Asia, bearing its trade to and from India.

No wonder that one of the meanings attributed to the Zogi La, the dread pass that closes this road in winter, is the place of four meetings, for the roads from Tibet, Yarkand, Baltistan and Kashmir all converge here.

This road has been described by so many travellers, that it would be redundant to add another detailed account of the journey up to Leh. Suffice it to mention some of the outstanding features and incidents that have impressed themselves on one who has traversed it several times, and for whom most of its turns and corners bring to memory an additional reminiscence. The lower or Kashmir side of the pass includes the first stage to Ganderbal which is generally accomplished either by motor, for a car may go even another five to six miles to the Suspension Bridge which spans the Sindh, or by boat down the Mar Canal and across the Anchar Lake when there is enough water, otherwise taking an extra night and going down the river Jhelum to its meeting place or " wedding " with the Sindh river at Shadipur and then up to Ganderbal. Having once effected a junction with the Sindh, the marches from Ganderbal onwards lead directly up the Sindh river to the foot of the Zogi La. This valley is known to so many thou-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child or perhaps by a mother with one or two children in her wake. A few houses are also scattered here and there among the fields, while in a larger village, many families have also a "country seat." This *yarsa*, or summer-place, usually consists of a small hut with a stable below, and a kitchen-room above, leading on to a balcony or flat roof. These may be on the outskirts of the village, or a mile or two up the valley behind. Anywhere on the hillsides, not too far distant from the rest of the community, where a spring or brook is available to water a small patch of cultivated land, these *yarsas* may be found, while in a large village such as Kalatse a considerable proportion of the population move in the summer away to the hills, taking their cattle with them to the so-called *brogs*.

Coming back to the village one often notices a little roofed balcony placed over the front-door, containing its three miniature *chortens*, coloured red, white and blue, with its demoniacal gods crudely painted on the wall behind. Near the house a young girl may be seen with a small stone in her hands pressing out the oil of apricot-kernels on a large flat boulder with a hole in the middle, into which the fluid runs. This oil is used for cooking purposes, for dressing the hair, and for burning in the little vessels before the altar. On the high road we have met in early summer donkeys and ponies loaded with sackfuls of these apricot kernels, proceeding down to Kashmir to sell them for the same purposes. They come from Baltistan, where the best apricots of this part of the world grow, and one can picture the inhabitants sitting out in the winter sunshine, when there is no field-work to occupy them, and cracking open the innumerable stones necessary to fill all these sacks with kernels. The seeds of a species of mustard plant are used for the same three purposes, though the mustard-oil is not so strong as that of the apricot.

In the house of the headman of the village, and in many of the better-class homes of the town, one room is dedicated as a little private chapel, used chiefly by the master of the house FOR READING HIS HOLY BOOKS AND REPEATING HIS PRAYERS.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XII

Modes & Manners

THE most important domestic work next to the preparation of food is spinning, and it is rare to visit a house without finding some man or woman busy with wool. First of all the raw wool has to be procured. The majority of this comes from the Chang-tang, the great "Northern Plain" beyond Leh, on the way to Greater Tibet, but some comes from Yarkand, and there are many varieties and qualities of it. The best wool, called *lena*, is of soft, silky texture, and is the short downy growth near the skin of the goat, which grows in winter under the long shaggy hairs, and is removed for export in summer. A still finer quality of camel-coloured wool can be obtained from the breast and neck of the Tibetan antelope, but as twenty to thirty of these animals have to be captured in order to procure one *batti* of this wool (a common measurement in Ladak, equal to four English pounds), the price of this quantity is about Rs20, in the raw state, so the textile products, though exquisitely fine and soft, are expensive and rare. The ordinary soft *lena* wool is sent in large quantities to Kashmir, where it is known as *pashmina* and is woven into the celebrated Cashmere shawls. At the time of the great Mogul Emperors, Mirza Hedar, grandfather of the celebrated Akbar, came to Ladak from Yarkand with five hundred men, and paid a long visit to the King. At the latter's request, he conquered the country of Purig, and presented it to his host, then went on down to Kashmir and

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

175 subdued it for himself. The Ladaki King sent him some
●439 *Snambu* or Ladaki home-spun, woven of *lena*, as a present, and he admired it so much that he introduced the import of the wool into Kashmir. He is said to have had it woven into the first two shawls, or *shal*, the word meaning "a board," a name which he seems to have given them *faut de mieux*, for it hardly suits such essentially fine soft cloth. Two Persians then came to Kashmir to buy saffron and cummin, and bought these shawls to take back to present to their King. Next year they tried to obtain more ; later the cloth was taken also to Alexandria, and so its fame slowly became world-wide. Thus these delicate soft shawls are really derived from the protection which nature has given to our long-haired Himalayan goats to withstand the excessive cold on the roof of the world.

283 But we must return to the large part played by wool in the
462 domestic activities of Ladak. First of all the raw product, arriving in rough twists, must be cleaned. If it is washed in water, the resulting cloth or *snambu* is said not to be so nice, but sometimes there is no choice, for the wool may be so impregnated with fatty grease that it has to be taken to the nearest spring or clear-running water to be cleansed, though it must never be squeezed or rubbed in the process. Sometimes it is further cleaned with white chalk from the cliffs near by, with which it is well mixed, then teased out. The next process, or *malches*, consists of the pulling out of the wool, and teasing out all little bits of tangled, extraneous matter, so that it is quite soft and ready to spin. Then comes the actual *kalches* or spinning, which is carried out on a slender cone of wood, elongated at both ends, called a *p'ang*. The end of this is supported in a little cup, either hollowed out of a small block of wood, or, what is infinitely preferable, made of the kernels of apricot-stones after all the oil has been pressed out, leaving a hard matrix or kind of oil-cake. The left hand manipulates the *p'ang*, twisting it to and fro in its little cup,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

534 with the necessary holes and the mouth-piece. So one often hears a piping from the youths who stroll out in the fields on a summer evening, or finds a hidden talent being brought to light among one's servants round the camp fire in the leisure following the day's march and cooking.

443 438 439 But no description of Ladak could be complete which did not consider the merchants who meet here from the four points of the compass, especially during the months of September, October and early November. At this time the Leh bazar becomes full of all sorts and conditions of men—the fair Yarkandi jostling the slit-eyed Tibetan, the Kulu man or his neighbour from Lahoul doing business with the men from Baltistan, Kashmir and most provinces of Northern India. And what do all these folk bring? From the North comes the Yarkandi with carpets of garish colours, furs of snow-leopard, fox and wolf, stone martin and beaver, Khotan silks and thick felt mats. It has taken him a full month of most difficult travelling over vast mountain ranges to get here, in fact the road is marked out in some places by the bleaching skeletons of man and beast. Before he can sell his wares, he will have to travel another month to reach the Plains of India. Here he purchases cloth which he takes back to his home and sells there at a good price. Many of the Yarkandis combine religion and business, coming over the passes in the late summer of the year, and going *via* Bombay to Mecca, then, after the sacred pilgrimage has been accomplished, they return through India, still trading, to cross the passes the following autumn. In Leh, the Yarkandi has either to buy horses or sell them, for the Kashmir State makes its own transport arrangements between Leh and Srinagar, but from

437 here to Yarkand no such facilities exist. It is amusing to watch them doing a horse deal, for though it is done in public, outsiders are none the wiser concerning the purchase price. Each man places a hand up the voluminous sleeve of the other. Says the buyer—"I will give you *Imeme*" simul-

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

taneously pressing the seller's arm with two fingers, but he, not wishing to sell at the suggested Rs200, presses the buyer's arm with five fingers saying, "*tso*" which signifies his willingness to sell at Rs250. Eventually they strike the bargain at Rs230, two pressures with the spoken word of *Imeme*, and three to *tso* having settled the deal. Then we also can watch the Tibetan who has brought salt, borax and Lhasa tea to barter with the Balti for his dried apricots and cooking-butter. The nomad from Changtang brings the long soft wool from his long-haired sheep, which the Kashmiri trader carries down to be transformed into *pashmina*, the basis of the far-famed delicate Cashmere shawls. The nomad gentleman does not seem at all chilled himself by the cold nip in the autumn air, for he often has a shoulder completely withdrawn from his long, wide sleeve, and the exposed lung area seems quite insensitive. The man from Kulu has carried kerosine up here, and perhaps also china cups, whilst the merchant from India supplies German cloth or rich stuffs for the Ladaki gala dresses, chemises and pantaloons, haberdashery of all kinds, Indian tea, spices, cigarettes, and the hundred and one things which are needed by the Ladaki housewife to keep her family up to the standard of civilization locally attained. In autumn, when trade is at its maximum, it is a good thing there is no vehicular traffic in the bazar, for the more bulky wares are deposited in large bundles about the main street, and it is only possible for the pedestrian to steer a zigzag course along the thoroughfare, further complicated by the waiting yaks, zo's, horses, asses and mules.

One would like to describe how the blacksmith makes a hole in the ground and, with goatskin bellows and charcoal, gets quite a good fire in which he works his metal and makes his pots, pans and attractive teapots; also to tell of the carpenter, sitting on the ground holding the plank with his two feet and one hand, while sawing with the other, and in

19; Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

476 men or women to assist him in working his fields for a given number of days, he must on a subsequent occasion supply the equivalent in man power when called upon to do so.

The Farm Servant (*Len-mi*).

536 The more opulent farmers keep one or more
464 men or women as permanent servants. These
465 are employed from spring until autumn, their remuneration consisting of one piece of homespun cloth sufficient to make an outer garment, board and lodging, and a payment of 12 rupees at the expiration of their period of service. If the servant be a male, his allowance is the same as that given to a woman, with the exception that he receives double that amount of money (*i.e.*, 24 rupees). In some cases, however, the payment is entirely in kind.

233 *Village Shepherds* (*Lug-rdzi*).

[422] Each village employs three shepherds to
464 pasture the communal flocks. These shepherds
621 have, however, to perform subsidiary duties, such as assisting each householder in building or repairing walls round the fields, ploughing and threshing.

When the harvest is gathered in, the shepherds make a house to house collection of barley and buckwheat. In addition to this they receive one fifth of the produce of wool from the communal flocks, which is divided amongst them equally.

Loans in Grain.

426 Many of the monastic institutions in Western
792 Tibet are very wealthy and increase their income
241 by negotiating loans of grain to the poorer peasants, taking interest at the rate of five measures for each kal of grain lent (*i.e.*, 10 lb. of grain for every 40 lb. lent, *viz.*, 25 per cent.). The result of this extortionate rate of interest is to put the poor farmer entirely in the hands of the priesthood, and rob him of every chance of increasing his annual output of crops through acquiring new farm implements or improving his land in other ways.

Manufacture of Beer.

273 The consumption of locally brewed beer from barley is very considerable, for at least one third of the annual yield of barley is converted into this liquor. Whilst it is difficult to estimate the
273 exact quantity of barley used for the manufacture
439 of beer, the average would be roughly 20 *kuls* of barley per household (800 lb.) This means that the Lahouli has to import large quantities of

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4 Lahul

439 grain from Kulu, a neighbouring state. Thus
273 the wholesale manufacture of beer from locally-grown produce has an economic significance as serious as it is unwise.

The Care of Livestock.

231 The people are on the whole kind to their animals and feed them as well as they are able with the limited yield of fodder at their disposal.

From December until April, the heavy snowfall in Lahoul precludes the possibility of grazing cattle. The animals have therefore to be housed on the ground floor of the houses. They are never bedded as in western countries.

When the supply of hay is exhausted the cattle are fed entirely on straw, this being again supplemented in the spring by the bark of willow branches cut and thrown into the pen to be peeled off by the sheep, goats and cows.

The willow tree is extensively cultivated owing to its use both for fodder and fuel.

It is customary for a peasant with more cattle than he can conveniently feed, to hand his surplus livestock to a neighbour to keep and feed from December to April, the price for the cattle thus treated being three rupees per head, and four or

19¦ Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
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five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. [439]

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

105 423 631 within these *khotis* are of three main kinds: the Thakur's personal property known as his *garhpan*; fields cultivated by junior members of his family and by retainers and by farm servants; holdings granted to villagers. The owners in the last two categories are not tenants but real subordinate proprietors; they cannot be evicted, and have proprietry rights just as any other freeholder.

The Thakur's *garphan* is cultivated by *k'hang ch'hung pas*, that is farm servants, helped on special occasions by a concourse of landholders. The whole produce goes to the *jagirdar* or landlord. Fields cultivated by junior family members (*do-hai*), by family retainers (*ch'hag-shi*) and by *k'hang ch'hung-pas* for themselves, are rent free. It is presumed that they pay for their holdings by the services which they render to the head of the family or to their master. In this category should be included land given out to blacksmiths (*gara-zhing* (*mGar-ba-zhing*)), musicians (*be-zhing*), astrologers (*onpo-zhing*), physicians (*man-zhing*), Buddhist monasteries (*gonpa* (*Gon-pa*)-*zhing*), Buddhist shrines (*lha-zhing*), and for the maintenance of irrigation canals (*yur-zhing*).

Holdings granted to villagers are called *jeolas* (allotments) as in the case of *khalsa khotis*, and the villagers to whom they are given are known as *yulpa*. These pieces of land are larger than the previous category, often reaching five acres and more. The owner is bound to pay [651] [766] revenue (called *thal*) in exchange, and he used to be subject to forced labour or *begar*, but this has been abolished now. There are a number of services he must render, such as serving the Thakur on certain harvesting days, stabling his horses, carrying over the passes, bringing rice [651] for him from Kulu, etc. In lieu of these services, he often pays cash nowadays, thus converting payment in kind into tax money.

105 233 631 651 The Thakur of Kolong, as Wazir of Lahul, is responsible for collecting grazing fees or *tirni* (known in Tibetan as *ri-gi-thal*). He is entitled to keep one fourth of this money for himself, while paying the rest to the Government. Graziers are mainly Gaddi shepherds from Kulu and Chamba, and their sheep are used as pack animals for the transport of grain.

105 221 439 The Lahulis are great traders and only remain in Lahul long enough to cultivate their crops. In July, the men leave for Western Tibet to buy wool and *pashmina* (a fine variety of wool from which Kashmir wool is made) for cash. They send the goods back on the backs of their sheep, then return the animals for winter grazing in Tibet. In August, many men attend the fair at Patseo in the upper part of the valley, where they

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

exchange local products for salt, borax and wool (including *pashmina*) with Tibetan traders. This merchandise they export to Kulu, again on the backs of their flocks, returning in the same way with grain for the winter. During November, the sheep are once again driven down to the lower Himalayan foothills, where they remain until the spring for pasturage. Many Lahulis find work of a menial kind in the plains during the winter months, especially in forestry.

The only time of the year when crops can be grown in Lahul is from May to November. The rest of the year, the snow lies thick on the ground and no cultivation is possible. The population of the country lives off only 5% of the total area, the rest being waste land unfit for agriculture. The water supply, in spite of the scanty rainfall, is made ample from glaciers and snow drifts, and the soil itself is extraordinarily fertile. The result is that crops are grown with amazing regularity and there has never been a famine in this part of India as long as anyone can remember.

The main food crops are barley, buckwheat and wheat – very much the same as they are in Tibet proper. Peas, potatoes, and grass to make hay for the cattle are also grown, and apple and plum trees produce a good harvest of fruit. Cash crops consist exclusively of *kut* or rusta (*Ru-s Ta*) (*Inula Helenium*), a leguminous plant the roots of which are used to make aromatic burning stocks or *joss-sticks*,[1] much in demand in Buddhist and other temples throughout countries of Chinese culture.

The men in Lahul plough and sow grain. The women weed the fields and collect the harvest. The men then thresh the crops or tread them by foot and with animals, winnowing the grain and storing the latter for the winter in their houses.

The domestic animals of Lahul are the *dzo* (a cross between a yak and a cow), sheep, goats, ponies and donkeys. There were no motorable roads at the time of my visit, but I understand that the Indian army is about to build a track passable for jeeps, which will enable them to reach Ladak from the south.

6. FIELD-WORK RESEARCH ON POLYANDRY IN LAHUL

If I have described the background of Lahul society at some length, it is because I believe this to have considerable bearing on the understanding of polyandry and on the reasons for its existence among the people of Tibetan affinity in the Himalayas. It is to be noticed that only those

[1] *Joss* = from the Portuguese *Dios*, God, hence "God-sticks".

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

There were a few instances of frigidity and impotence, Tashi Dawa said. He treated these with aphrodisiacs and they gave him no more trouble after that. The medicine used in such cases was the juice of the Japutsitsi plant, popularly called Gege of Wangla, (I was not able to identify this plant botanically and therefore cannot give its Latin name).

I met Thakur Mangal Chand, alias Tashi Dawa again, upon other occasions, and was treated to long discourses on Tibetan medicine. The data, which I noted at the time appears to be irrelevant to the question of polyandry, however, apart from the interesting cases mentioned above, so I shall abstain from giving a fuller account of it here. It is nevertheless perhaps worth mentioning that I heard from the *amchi* that abortion was practised on unmarried women and even on married ones in certain circumstances (when it was too apparent that conception was not due to relations with a husband). To bring about the required results, he made use of a mixture of horse-blood, red soot called *tsot*(?), musk and bee's wax.

On another occasion, I was interested to hear from a *gelong* (*dGe-sLong*), or high ordained lamaist priest, called Dön-drup, whom I met on the 27th of June, 1938, in the village of Billing near Kyelang, of the way in which sex plays a role in reincarnation. When a soul is searching for a womb in which to be conceived for rebirth, should the woman eventually chosen love her husband, it is sure that the new earthly form taken will be female. If, on the contrary, the woman does not love her husband, a boy will be born.

This statement was strangely reminiscent of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (Third Edition, 1957), in which it is said that if the deceased, who is to be reborn, is about become a male, an intense feeling of aversion for the father and of attraction for the mother comes upon him, or vice-versa as regards birth as a female.

B. POLYANDRY IN RUPCHU *(RUP-CH'HU)* AND LADAK *(LA-DWAGS)*

1. RUPCHU

On the way between Lahul and the Rupchu plateau, I encountered many people on the road, mainly in the evening when we reached camping places. These people varied between Tibetan nomads moving south with goods to sell, Lahulis visiting Kulu or returning from there, and Tibetan pilgrims on their way to and from the holy Buddhist places in The Indian plains.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Tibetan Nomads

(then a relative of the Thakurs, for whom he was certainly acting), and to him they deliver 70% of their produce, while being allowed to retain about 30%. They also sell salt and borax to the local people at the Patseo fair, as described earlier (p. 310), the wool and *pashmina* which they bring down, together with the butter, cheese, hides and yak hair which are among the products which they must deliver to the owner of their animals, the *goba*.

The *goba*, as far as I could make out, was not normally resident with them, but lived the rest of the year in Lahul. He was a relative of the Karpa family as well as of the Thakurs. He spoke of the tent dwellers as "his nomads", and I realised that he was their master and the owner of the animals, beyond any possibility of misunderstanding. The relations of the nomads to him were those of servants, or even serfs, and they never approached him otherwise than with their tongues out (a Tibetan sign of respect), bowing from the waist and sucking air in through their mouths as they spoke. It did not appear that he had any of the powers of governmental authority over them which one would have presumed he might have in so isolated a spot, even if it were in Kashmir territory. I was, however, able to gather that, as these nomads moved freely over the border, they were politically subject to both the Kashmir authorities and those of central Tibet. The latter were represented in Ngari Korsum by the Garpön of Gartok, capital of the neighbouring Tibetan province.

The dress of the people up here was no longer the same, and already bore a much closer resemblance to that of the Ladakis whom I was soon to encounter. The men wore a loose-fitting robe of Chinese cut, with a sash round the waist made either of coloured or white wool, as in Lahul; on their heads they wore the Ladaki hat, that is a velvet cap, round and high in shape, with the sides turned up in front over the ears. The headgear of the women was the *perak* or *beraq* (possibly spelt *Be-rag*), a long piece of red felt studded with turquoises received in heirloom, which is worn hanging from the forehead backwards down to the waist and is framed at its pointed end over the eyes by two enormous black woollen "ears" on either side of the head. The women's gowns were similar to those of the men and were also made of wool, but usually of a darker colour. Over their shoulders, they fastened a goat's skin, with the fur on the outside. Both sexes wore heavy woollen Tibetan boots, with red embroideries over the foot.

Although no actual example could be given to me at the time, I was assured by our hosts that polyandry existed among the nomads exactly

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

175 648 date, lasted three days, and Zorowar Singh was first cut down in a sword fight and then transfixed by the lance of a Tibetan horseman. The whole Dogra army, mainly composed of Ladakis and Baltis, seeing their leader dead, turned and fled, and the central Tibetans took advantage of the rout to occupy Leh.

They were, however, expelled from here shortly afterwards, by a fresh army which Jammu sent to relieve the Ladaki capital. This new force chased the Tibetans back to the frontier but came up against another lot of troops which Lhasa had sent under their two most able generals, Ragasha and Zurkhang. Zorowar Singh was avenged when the first of these two fell into Dogra hands and was beheaded; but the two armies did not pursue the battle. They came to terms, and the ancient treaty of Tingmogan, signed nearly two hundred years ago, was re-enacted. The frontier with Tibet was made to follow the line which it had then and still has today; the thrice-yearly caravan of presents from Ladak was taken over by the Kashmir government, who continued to send it to Lhasa, as I said above, until the entry of Chinese Communist troops into Tibet. Jigme Namgyal, who had survived all these clashes, was demoted to raja, and continued to live at Stog, the family seat to which his grandfather, Tsepal Namgyal, had moved in 1820.

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In 1846, after the British victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon, Kashmir, including Ladak, came under Jammu with certain treaty rights reserved for the British. *Pax Britannica* was thus extended to the upper Indus valley and lasted for one hundred years until the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan again brought turmoil to this north-western part of the sub-continent. Today, Ladak is part of the Indian state of Kashmir, and its chief Lama, Kusho Bakula (*sKu-gShogs Bakula*) of Spituk *gompa* (first and most ancient *Gelug-pa* monastery of Ladak) is its representative at the Assembly, as well as a vice-Premier, of the State.

4. *Administration*

105 631 In 1938 when I was in Ladak, the Kashmir administration consisted of a Wazir-i-Wazarat in charge of Baltistan and the three *tehsils* of Ladak, Kargil and Skardu. A small garrison of Dogra troops was stationed in the old fort at Leh. The chief function of the Wazir seemed to be the supervision of the Central Asian trade from Sinkiang, which crossed over the Karakorum pass through Leh to Srinigar, along the Indo-British Treaty road. The latter name was indicative that the British had a share in this supervision, and in fact, the British Assistant Resident

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24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

The sexes divide agricultural work among themselves in such a way that the ploughing, transport and marketing of goods is done by the men, while the women milk the cows and *dzos*, feed them, sow and weed the fields. Trading further afield is the responsibility of the men, and, as everywhere in areas of Tibetan culture, they do not hesitate to undertake great journeys of many thousands of miles lasting months and in some cases years. Apricots are a great speciality of Ladak, exported in dry form far and wide, and enjoying a great reputation as being of the best variety.

Borax is produced in Rupchu, and salt comes from evaporation of the brackish waters of the lakes. There is a certain amount of gold, too, to be found in the rivers, and in some parts it is even mined, as it is further afield in the Ngari Korsum province of Tibet.

6. *Leh*

Leh (spelt *sLa* in Tibetan) is a large village situated at an altitude of 11,503 feet, in the Indus valley, some distance from the river, on the right bank, high up in a side valley, where the water from glacier formations above enters the ground to run subterraneously down to the main stream. Below it, close to the river bank, is Spituk (*sPitug*) with its ancient monastery on a stone hillock, dominating the plain.

The population of Leh is certainly much greater now than it was then. In 1938, it was only 2,377, and it was divided up into the same religious denominations as we have seen earlier for the whole of Ladak. There were 1,287 Buddhists (with the same reservations concerning low castes as before), 991 Mohammedans, 43 Sikhs Hindus and 56 Christians.

The Buddhists, it can be seen, constituted the vast majority. They were all those Ladakis of Tibetan affinity, whose mongoloid features made them immediately and easily recognizable. Among them, there were reported to be 650 men to 637 women.

The Moslems included Kashmiris from the valley, Turki, Uigur and Yarkandi traders from Sinkiang in Central Asia, Argons or those whose fathers had taken local Ladaki women as wives, and a few Baltis from the neighbouring sub-division. There were 447 men to 544 women in this religious community. Among the Hindus and Sikhs there were 30 men to 13 women. The community was only a temporary one made up of officials and employees of the Kashmir State. The Christians were all converts of the Moravian Mission, 31 men to 25 women. Leh is the principal station of this Mission in Western Tibet, with another station in Kalatse, lower down the Indus.

1; Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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believe there is no limit at all, but of as many as this I have known instances.

In addition to this form of polyandry, which, as I have shown, stands on economical grounds, there is, strange to say, liberty for the women to choose yet another husband from a different family, a stranger. I have known cases where there were two—and, if my recollection does not deceive me, three—brothers, husbands to a woman, yet she took a fourth husband from outside.

The effect of all this in keeping down the population of the country is very great. Not only are fewer families founded than would be otherwise, but the families are smaller. In spite of the restricted area of cultivation, which it would not be easy to extend, though possible in a few cases, and in spite of there being no importation of grain—except of a small quantity of rice, which is an expensive luxury—the population of Ladākh, though fairly well filled up, is not redundant. Each person has his own position in connection with the land, and it would be impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation.

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It seems to me that such a balance is preserved in this way:—The system of polyandry probably would have the effect, if it were fully carried out, of absolutely lessening the population. When it does positively act in that way, when from that cause some holdings of land are, so to say, going begging, then more of simple marriages take place. An heiress of a few acres, say, gets a single husband whom she brings home; or an only son has a wife all to himself. Then the natural increase of population recommences, and the balance is redressed.

I could get no satisfactory answer to the inquiry I made of many—what becomes of the surplus of women which must, one would think, be caused by the custom? I did not learn that there were many old maids, and the number of nuns is less than the number of young men that have been drafted off to become monks. It is possible that polyandry alters the proportion of sexes in the children born—lessens the number of females; but this is hypothetical; I could not get statistics to throw light on the subject.

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1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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181 177 The people have, as has before been implied, the characters which were described under the head "Ladākhīs." They have, indeed, the better of these characteristics in a higher degree than the rest of the Ladākhīs. The Zānskārīs are the old-fashioned ones among them, retaining their simplicity of manners and their honesty without stain. The language has a slight dialectic difference from that of Leh; even in the various parts of Zānskār recognizable differences exist; but none of these seemed—as far as 162 I could gather—to be of great importance. The number 651 of inhabitants is very small. I have a list of forty-three villages, which may contain ten or twelve houses each; the total may be 500 houses and 2500 souls. The tax paid to the Maharaja's Government comes to a very small sum; it used to be 300*l*., but in 1869 • 439 it was reduced to 200*l*. There is a trade, small in amount, but still important to the Zānskārīs, which is carried on by three or four routes. First, the people of Rupshu bring salt, and take barley in exchange. Secondly, some of the salt brought by the last-mentioned route goes to Pādar and Pāngī (by very difficult Passes over the Snowy Range), and is there exchanged for rice, butter and honey, and for skins. Thirdly, other of the salt acquired from Rupshu goes to Surū, whence comes in exchange pattū (woollen cloth), barley, and a little cash. Thus it seems that the Zānskār people export of their own productions only barley, if indeed they do that, for it is imported as well as exported. Their profit seems to lie in the trade for salt; by acting both as carriers and merchants of this they increase its value enough to provide themselves with the luxuries that must [651] come from outside. A fourth line of traffic is with Lāhol, whence traders come with cash alone, and buy ponies, donkeys, 435 sheep, and goats. It is only by this branch of trade that cash 437 enough is introduced into the country to pay the Government tax. Nearly all the rest is done by barter: for instance, 7 lbs. or 8 lbs. of salt exchange in Zānskār for 1 lb. of butter; in Pāngī 3 lbs. or 4 lbs. only of salt would be given. Again, in Zānskār the proportion in value of salt to that of barley is such that 2 lbs. of salt exchange for 3 lbs. of barley.

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high; in one of these lives a whole family. The sheep
231 and goats are very numerous. At evening time one sees the
236 flocks and the herds coming down the hill-side and collecting at
[492] the encampment by hundreds, and even thousands. The sheep is of a large kind; it is here made use of for carrying loads; the salt from the lake is carried out of and grain is brought into the country on the backs of sheep; a small pack or double bag is made to hang over the back, filled to an average weight of 24 lbs.; the stronger animals will be loaded up to 32 lbs. The larger of the two kinds of ~~goat~~ kept here is made use of in just the same
[438] way. The more general is the shawl-wool goat, a small long-haired species; the kids of this sort are beautiful little animals. The wool that goes to make the soft fabrics of Kashmir is an under-growth at the root of the long hair of these smaller goats. It comes in winter time, not only to the goats but to the yāks, dogs, and other animals, domestic and wild both, as a protection against the severe cold. At the beginning of summer the wool grows out or loosens; it is then combed out from the goats and sent to Leh, where it is picked free from hairs and either worked up or sent on to Kashmir. It must not be supposed that the greater part of the shawl-wool used in Kashmir comes from Rupshu; the greater quantity and that of better quality comes either from the Chinese districts beyond the boundary of Ladākh, or from the Amīr of
231 Kāshgar's country. The horned cattle are all of the
492 yāk species. In Rupshu, as far as I know, there is neither the cow nor any of the hybrids of yāk and cow. The yāk is a half-wild, not easily tractable, beast; his numbers are not very large in Rupshu; there may be 400 or 500 head. The yāk's duty is that of a load carrier. The Rupshu people do not carry loads on their backs like the Ladākhīs, they depend entirely on their cattle, on their sheep and goats for merchandise that is easily divisible, on their yāks for that of larger bulk. In this
431 way the Rupshu people are great carriers. Between Central
492 Ladākh on the one hand and Gār in Chinese Tibet or Lāhol in the British country on the other, they are kept well employed in helping forward merchants' goods. For this service they get good

[Rupshu -- Analyst]

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir

payment; sometimes it is in cash sometimes in grain; with one or two slight exceptions, all the farinaceous food they consume is imported, Kulū and Lāhol supplying the greater part of it.

The intermediate position of Rupshu is such that many travelling merchants come through the country. The tea-merchants of Lhāsa—a shrewd and eager set of men—yearly come this way with their venture of brick tea for Leh; their merchandise is carried free by the Rupshu people, according to an old arrangement between the authorities of Lhāsa and of Leh, but for their riding and light baggage they have with them a number of fine mules of rare pace. From Kunāwar in the Sutlej Valley come the Kunūs, a people of mixed Tibetan and Indian breed; from Lāhol and Kulū come others of pure and of mixed Tibetan blood; these have in many cases their own sheep to carry their merchandise. Of late years there has been a greater through traffic from the Panjāb to Leh, and even Yārkand, by the road that goes through Rupshu. Panjābī, Pathān, and Yārkandī merchants have all passed this way, which, indeed, as far as the road is concerned, is now the best by far between Eastern Turkistān and the Panjāb. The objection to the route is that the Pass over the Snowy Range may close before the circumstances of the trade allow the merchant to get away from Leh for the downward journey.

Although, then, Rupshu possesses so inhospitable a climate, though it is at one and the same time both parched and bleak, though its hills are barren and its valleys desolate, yet a busy life exists at times in certain portions of it. After travelling for some days without seeing a trace of man, one may come on an encampment of traders with some hundreds of sheep to carry their merchandise, their loads carefully piled up and protected by white tent-cloths; or one may meet on the road the merchants on their ponies, jingling with bells, accompanying their heavy-laden and somewhat unmanageable flock.

For people who are natives of temperate climes, the air of Rupshu in summer, though somewhat trying, is not too severe when the constitution is strong and the system in good order. The extreme cold of winter also could probably be endured if one

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
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which is apt to be regular at certain times of the day. The salt thus obtained has an admixture of magnesian salts; it is bitter to the taste, and is not liked by those who have been used to the pure salt of the Salt Range of the Panjāb; it is indeed apt to produce an itchiness on the skin. Still it is consumed all over Ladākh, and is carried as far as Kashmir. Over part of the plain, especially when it is composed of white clay, there is an efflorescence of some saline compound. Most generally it is carbonate of soda, which is called by the Rupshu people *pātsa*. Again, one sometimes sees a layer, over an area of a few square yards, of a hard colourless translucent substance, which seems to be a mixture of sulphate of magnesia with a compound of soda; of this the native name is *gurm*. There are certain curious inequalities in parts of the plain which should be mentioned and if possible accounted for. That part which lies on the north of the Salt Lake, as before said, is of white clay; the level of it is from 10 to 20 feet above the lake; on this plain we see many hollows, commonly from 10 to 40 yards across, and 10 to 15 feet deep, with, usually, gently-sloping sides; at the bottom is generally a crust or deposit of some salt, as of the *gurm*. One of these hollows was as much as 180 yards across; in this there was a little water. A somewhat different phenomenon is seen on the east of the fresh lake; there is a plain of similar white clay, from which rise small mounds of the same material to the height of about four feet; they seem to be bulgings up of the clay, for the laminæ curve over from the centre of each. Of these two phenomena I have not a clear explanation to offer, but I think there must be connected with them a certain sloping of the layers of the lacustrine deposit which I observed at two or three places. Towards the gorge the beds of fine sand before described are slightly waved, and dip on the whole to the north-north-east, at an angle of 8°. At the place where the salt is scraped up a cliff section shows the beds to be waving and sloping. These things are not due to any deep-seated ground-movements such as produce the dip of strata in general, but must be caused by some local settling, brought about perhaps by a dissolving out of salt that had been deposited.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
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position. Then I heard that many years ago when the country was invaded by the Muslims, the whole of this carved cliff face was encased by the Tibetans behind buildings which were hastily made to hide the sacred Buddha, since the Mohammedans looked upon such carvings as idols and would have defaced it. Now the Buddha stands in a perfect state of preservation wearing bracelets, a double necklace, earrings and a headpiece, and with four arms, two of which are held up, the others hanging by his side have a serpent entwined around them. It is really a fine piece of work with details such as even the stomach muscles carved.

There was then no doubt as to our having entered the land in which all were his followers; every village has its monastery; bits of rags fluttered from poles on the roofs of houses—prayer flags; chortens and manis are to be found everywhere, just as are the prayer wheels, some set upright so that those who pass can revolve them by hand, others placed near to a stream for the water to turn them, and on each revolution a prayer is automatically sent to heaven. The people carry these prayer wheels on a stick in their hands; usually they are made of copper, the wealthier among them have them studded with coral, turquoise and decorated, but they all contain prayers which have been written down from one of the holy books. If the prayer is written one hundred times, then with one turn of the wheel a hundred prayers are sent up to heaven.

The day following we had another pass to cross over. This, the Namikha La, is close on thirteen thousand feet high, but was far easier going than the first. What amazed us was that the white which we had imagined to be snow on its summit, we found to be salt. Salt is one of Ladakh's principal exports; this is transported in small sacks strapped like saddle-bags on the backs of goats, herds of them being used for this purpose and occasionally met with on the road.

Going down to the string of villages we saw the old castle on the top of the hill; now a ruin, it was once the scene of bitter fighting in the sixteen hundreds. The village is at the foot of the hill, but the extraordinary thing is that on the steep hill sides, which would seem impossible to climb, there are many dwellings which appear to be stuck on; the rooms run into the hill

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir ~~AV1~~
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green cultivation. Then the welcome halting place—a rest house for lunch, a famous monastery some hundred years old, a ruined castle as usual, and a further three miles on to a most picturesque monastery which is five hundred years old, and the entrance to the Leh valley. Here we left the river Indus, to make the gradual ascent over the now better road to Leh, which we could see some four miles in the distance, and which I must admit did not thrill me as we made towards it; we had passed on the way so many beautiful places that I expected to discover in Leh the jewel of them all. As we neared it we could make out on the hill the great, one hundred roomed palace of the ancient kings of Ladakh, and above that the enormous—in their spread—buildings of the monastery, and were duly impressed, though not overawed, for everything seems to be of the same earth stone colour, as though the buildings, which could be made in miniature with a child's box of bricks, have risen from the rocks like the commencement of an eruption which changed its mind, just as we had seen so many of them on our way, now decaying back to from whence they came.

But Leh is an important place, not only is it the capital of Ladakh, but it is also—and to the people of the country this is far more important—the religious capital of Western Tibet, besides being a great centre for caravans passing to and from Central Asia, the entrepôt of trade between India on the south, and Yarkand, Khotan and Tibet on the north and east. Here in the great bazaar which is held in the September month of each year. Traders from Turkistan, Siberia, Tibet and other parts of Central Asia come to buy, sell and barter their merchandise with those who have come from Kashmir and India, so that we found people of all races and religions there with Buddhism predominating, and a sprinkling of Mohammedans; a Moravian Mission is there also, and among the people are to be found numbers of Mohammedan half-castes known as Arghons; they are the offsprings of visiting traders and the women of the land "with whom they have made a temporary marriage".

The Ladakhis are Mongolian in features. Their ugly faces are soon forgotten though, since they possess a pronounced sense of humour and are always laughing, although their dirty stubby teeth then seen are not an enhancement to their beauty. Very

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AVI Kashmir AVI
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a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries. 241

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by. 231 492

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony. 236 439

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness. 262 272

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders 771 779

241 [231] [262]

range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

136 **Minerals.**

Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.**

Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *pattū* and *pashmīna*.

●439 **Commerce and trade.**

The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872]

Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

1: Lawrence G-3 (1889-1895) 1895 AV4 Kashmiri AVI
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TABLE I.—TOTAL TRADE. CHAP. XVI.

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WT 439

	EXPORTS.		IMPORTS.		TOTAL.	
	Maunds.	Value. Rs.	Maunds.	Value. Rs.	Maunds.	Value. Rs.
1884-85.						
Kashmir	Logs. 29,741 864,474	54,59,130	340,766	38,49,991	Logs. 26,741 1,205,240	93,09,121
Ladakh	15,915	3,78,321	6,069	3,39,746	21,984	7,18,067
1885-86.						
Kashmir	Logs. 44,586 792,030	51,34,913	353,262	37,77,822	Logs. 44,586 1,145,292	89,12,735
Ladakh	16,802	4,57,746	7,000	3,44,087	23,802	8,01,833
1886-87.						
Kashmir	Logs. 2,300 8,432,399	53,86,572	398,987	42,68,043	Logs. 23,030 1,242,286	96,54,615
Ladakh	7,596	2,23,067	5,797	2,24,748	13,393	4,47,815
1887-88.						
Kashmir	Logs. 25,173 1,007,498	69,31,738	478,790	53,10,303	Logs. 25,173 1,480,183	1,22,42,041
Ladakh	7,742	3,45,380	6,854	3,17,115	14,596	6,62,495
1888-89.						
Kashmir	Logs. 20,936 976,421	81,23,443	456,476	49,57,047	Logs. 20,986 1,432,897	1,30,80,499
Ladakh	8,417	3,03,624	6,112	2,99,297	14,529	6,02,921
1889-90.						
Kashmir	Logs. 9,097 1,050,057	66,40,851	540,062	56,41,947	Logs. 9,097 1,590,119	1,22,82,828
Ladakh	8,706	2,48,746	5,945	2,26,682	14,651	4,75,428
1890-91.						
Kashmir	Logs. 5,702 978,089	58,99,542	473,068	56,61,734	Logs. 5,702 1,451,157	1,12,61,276
Ladakh	7,743	3,41,908	5,820	2,85,211	13,563	6,27,119
1891-92.						
Kashmir	Logs. 20,289 1,289,249	65,05,088	565,314	66,16,145	Logs. 20,289 1,854,563	1,31,21,233
Ladakh	7,963	3,07,789	4,010	2,22,378	11,973	5,30,167
1892-93.						
Kashmir	Logs. 6,684 1,818,825	53,33,092	498,867	48,68,247	Logs. 6,684 1,317,692	1,02,01,339
Ladakh	8,938	3,22,413	4,155	2,16,141	13,093	5,38,554